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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

SOVIET PRESSURE ON FINLAND SEEMS TO BE closely patterned on the technique so successfully developed by the Nazis. Immediately after a brutal attack on Premier Cajander in *Pravda*—a tirade mainly composed of zoological insults—an alleged incident occurred causing the death, according to the Russian account, of four Red soldiers and the wounding of nine others. Within a few hours a note was presented to the Finnish government demanding the withdrawal of its troops in the Karelian Isthmus. The reply denies that any shots were fired by Finnish troops and refuses unilateral withdrawal, though it expresses Finland's willingness to discuss a joint removal of forces from the frontier. Meanwhile "spontaneous" meetings of Soviet workers and soldiers are passing resolutions denouncing Finnish "aggression" and threatening to force compliance with Moscow's demands. Thus the ground is being prepared should Stalin wish to yield to "popular indignation" and order his army to march. There are indications, however, that before taking such an openly imperialist step Moscow may attempt to stir up a revolution in Finland. As we go to press, news suggesting more direct action comes from Moscow. The Finnish reply has been rejected, and the demand for withdrawal of troops is reiterated. There is still no ultimatum, however, and no time limit has been set. But at the same time the Soviets have denounced their non-aggression pact with Finland —a move ominously reminiscent of German tactics in regard to Poland.

*

BRITAIN'S WAR AIMS, MR. CHAMBERLAIN declared in a broadcast speech Sunday night, were not merely to defeat the enemy's military forces but to end "that aggressive, bullying mentality which seeks continually to dominate other peoples by force." On the subject of peace aims—of how to rebuild a Europe in which that spirit of aggression could not take root—he had little new to offer. He spoke, indeed, of a new Europe in which good-will, disarmament, and unrestricted trade would bring peace and prosperity to all but suggested no method of clothing this utopian dream with reality. It may be difficult at this point to draw up blueprints for Europe. Nevertheless, Britain could do much to demonstrate its sincerity by showing a more liberal spirit toward India and a willingness to democratize its own empire.

*

GERMANY SEEMS TO HAVE COME OFF VERY badly in last week's diplomatic warfare in the Balkans. The overthrow of Rumania's pro-German Premier, Constantin Argentoianu, and his replacement by George Tatarescu can only be interpreted as a severe setback to the Reich's hopes of obtaining additional wheat and oil from King Carol's domain. The shift in the Rumanian government is also bound to have great influence on the character and policies of the Balkan neutral bloc, if and when it is formed. Barring a change in the line-up, the pro-Ally governments of Turkey and Rumania will be likely to dominate the bloc rather than Italy. At first glance the trade pact between Hungary and Italy seems to offset the shift in the Rumanian government. It suggests that Mussolini is prepared to back Hungary in its recent threats against Rumania. But a pact which increases trade between Hungary and Italy can scarcely be regarded as a Nazi triumph when Germany is striving desperately to capture as much as possible of Hungary's trade. To combat the new British ban on exports, the Reich must find its raw materials and foreign exchange in the South and East. If diplomatic pressure fails to yield results, it may have recourse to more direct measures. Since the lack of a common frontier makes a direct attack on Rumania impossible, it is likely to apply pressure by way of Hungary.

*

THE "SOLUTION" OF THE MUNICH BOMB PLOT produced by the German police conforms in some respects with spy-fiction traditions, but it leaves too many loose ends to satisfy any conscientious reader of mystery stories. According to the Gestapo, George Elser, the alleged perpetrator of the attempted assassination of Hitler, started building his infernal machine into a pillar of the Bürgerbräu Keller as long ago as August and returned on numerous occasions before the work was completed. How he was able to come and go apparently unnoticed, particularly on the night before Hitler's visit, when the place was almost certainly guarded, is not explained. Nor is any evidence provided for the assertion

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that the plot was instigated by the British Intelligence Service. In fact, the official statement describing both the "confession" of Elser and the arrest of the British officers Stevens and Best declares that officials of the Security Service of the S. S. had long been in touch with the latter, who thought they had made a connection with a dissident German group. Hence it would seem that, if these officers were privy to the bomb plot, the Gestapo would have learned about it in time to prevent the explosion. The only other explanation would be that they were content to warn the party leaders while sacrificing the rank-and-file members in order to build up a case against Great Britain.

*

THE FLIGHT OF FRITZ THYSSEN, GERMAN steel magnate, to Switzerland may be due to his part in the right-wing German opposition. He himself has declared that he expressed emphatic opposition to the war and the present policies of the German government. The threatened consequences of this action forced him to leave Germany. It has since been reported and denied that his vast holdings in the German heavy industries have been confiscated. In any case Thyssen's break with Hitler is of great significance, for he was one of the earliest and most generous backers of the Nazis. There is irony in the fact of his exile but hardly justice. Despite the currency laws he has no doubt accumulated resources enabling him to live comfortably and safely abroad while the regime for which he bears so heavy a responsibility proceeds to wreck Germany. If any man ever deserved to serve a term in a concentration camp it is Fritz Thyssen.

*

LOSS OF NANNING TO JAPAN IS A SEVERE blow to China, though not so costly as has been suggested in some press dispatches. The route through Nanning to Indo-China was one of the few remaining arteries by which China had been able to obtain supplies from the outside world. But it was a relatively unimportant route since it did not lead to Chungking, Chentu, or any of the principal cities still in Chinese hands. The railroad and motor road between Yunnanfu and Indo-China, which is China's lifeline, is still well out of Japan's reach and is vulnerable only to attack by air. Although not of major importance, the setback at Nanning was sufficiently serious to provoke a general reorganization of the Chinese Cabinet. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has been intrusted with the Premiership as well as command of the military forces in a shake-up which demoted his brother-in-law, H. H. Kung, to Vice-Premier. It appears that certain of the right-wing leaders have been forced out but that no provision has yet been made for the inclusion of such left-wing leaders as T. V. Soong, Madame Sun Yat-sen, or Eugene Chen. It remains to be seen whether Japan's long-delayed plan for setting up a puppet government under Wang Ching-wei will be aided by the Japanese victory.

*

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WOULD CERTAINLY be endangered if local authorities could forbid distribution of leaflets or papers on the ground that they "littered" the streets. And the Supreme Court is to be applauded for seeing through the subterfuge in the handbill ordinance cases and handing down another great decision in defense of basic liberties. A student had been arrested in Los Angeles for handing out cards announcing a pro-Loyalist meeting, nineteen pickets in a Milwaukee meat-market strike had been taken in custody for giving out leaflets, two women had been arrested in Worcester, Massachusetts, for distributing handbills about a protest meeting in connection with unemployment relief. Violation of a municipal "street-littering" ordinance was the charge in each case. The court, speaking through Justice Roberts, with only Justice McReynolds dissenting, held that municipal street regulations cannot be enforced in a way that would "abridge the individual liberties secured by the Constitution to those who wish to speak, write, print, or circulate information or opinion." Another case, decided in the same opinion, involved the arrest of a member of Jehovah's Witnesses for canvassing with religious literature without registering at a police station and leaving samples of the booklets. The court held that while a municipality may regulate canvassing, it "cannot . . . require all who wish to disseminate ideas to present them first to police authorities for their consideration and approval." The use of the Fourteenth Amendment in defense of property rights is an old story. This decision, like the Hague and Griffin, Georgia, rulings before it, illustrates the new use of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect basic liberties against state or municipal interference. We call it "new" because it dates back only to 1930, when Charles Evans Hughes became Chief Justice. He wrote the first decision actually invoking the Fourteenth Amendment to defend freedom of speech, press, or assembly.

*

THE FORMATION OF A "CITIZENS' LAW AND Order Committee" in Detroit, led by the local unit of the Small Business Men's Association, is a familiar omen of anti-labor violence and lawlessness. The struggle between the Chrysler interests and the C. I. O. automobile workers' union is now entering its third month. The management recently sought to blur the central issue of wages by charging that the C. I. O. is seeking to control plant foremen and thereby obtain "control of our production." The first gun in the back-to-work movement was fired prematurely by Father Coughlin, who was sub-

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sequently assailed by Catholic unionists, denounced by a fellow-priest, and pointedly shunned by the automobile workers. Homer Martin took up where Coughlin was interrupted, and summoned Negro workers to form the vanguard of a back-to-work drive. No move could be more inflammatory in an already explosive situation, and as we go to press the city's Negro leaders are desperately trying to curb it. Meanwhile, America's foremost Congressional labor-hater, Clare Hoffman of Michigan, has implored Governor Dickinson to "protect" men who "want to work." There are few new or original lines in this scenario. The important fact, likely to be obscured by law-and-order platitudes, is that the automobile workers are striving to obtain a wage increase from a corporation which in the first half of this year made a net profit of over $25,000,000.

*

ONE OF THE FEW BRIGHT SPOTS IN NEW York City's councilmanic elections is the victory of Harry W. Laidler of Brooklyn. In addition to his rich background as an economist and a Socialist, Dr. Laidler brings to his new post extraordinary knowledge of New York's municipal problems. Dr. Laidler was elected as an American Laborite. Owing to the split in the A. L. P. over the Nazi-Soviet pact and the failure of independent voters to show up at the polls in full strength, Tammany has enough votes in the new council to override Mayor LaGuardia's vetoes. The A. L. P. had five councilmen in 1937. It now has two, and the three it lost owe their defeat to the quarrel within the party. Michael Quill, who lost by a narrow margin in the Bronx, was opposed by the Labor Party leadership because he had refused to accept a resolution attacking the Nazi-Soviet pact. Resentment against the resolution also played a part in the defeat of Andrew Armstrong in Brooklyn and of Langdon W. Post in Manhattan.

*

PRESIDENT SEYMOUR'S WILLINGNESS TO permit Earl Browder's lecture at Yale University undoubtedly stunned a good many "Old Blues"; we are told that the silence at the Yale Club was so deathly that you could hear the faces fall. For years the members of the Big Three have operated as a unit on major matters of policy: they agreed not to start football practice until September 15, and they signed no-scouting agreements. Then, recently, the Harvard Corporation decreed that Browder couldn't speak on a Harvard platform because he was under indictment in a federal court. When a group of Princeton undergraduates sought to taste the fruit that Harvard had forbidden, Old Nassau's officials echoed the Harvard precedent. Yale's dissent is therefore something of a Big Three scandal. President Seymour apparently acted on the increasingly subversive premise that an American is innocent until proved guilty, even if he is a Communist. His action was admirable and refreshing.

*

THOUGH THERE IS NO ROMANTIC GLAMOUR in septicemia, Norman Bethune died the death of a hero. The septicemia was contracted during an operation he performed in Shansi, where he had been serving with the Eighth Route Army's medical unit; the conditions under which the operation had to be done can easily be imagined. Dr. Bethune, a Canadian, served in three wars. He became a surgeon lieutenant in the royal navy during the World War. He left a comfortable position as a consulting surgeon for the Canadian government to bring medical aid to the Loyalists; blood-transfusion methods he developed during the Spanish civil war attracted international attention. After that war was over he took a medical unit to China. He risked his life in the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism, and he gave his life in the war of the Chinese people for liberation.

Lawlessness at Sea

DURING the past week the western front has been quieter than ever while there has been an intensification of the war at sea. The Germans have been successful in sinking several British war vessels and a number of merchant ships, but the chief victims of their counter-blockade have been the neutrals. Another victim is international law, which is being thrust into the discard by both sides even more rapidly than in the last war. In totalitarian warfare necessity is the only law, and efforts to limit its ravages or protect the rights of neutrals appear increasingly futile.

The scattering of drifting mines off the English east coast is an obvious breach of the Hague Convention of 1907, to which Germany was a signatory. Berlin at first claimed that it was not responsible, but after a few days it began to boast of its success in blocking the British ship lanes. The use of convoys and other forms of protection for merchant vessels means, according to Nazi views, that purely commercial routes into British ports have ceased to exist. That is to say, mine-laying is legitimate in any waters used by naval vessels irrespective of the fact that they are also normally employed by civilian ships of all nations.

German propagandists state that under the Hague Convention the obligation of a belligerent to give general notice of the existence of a mined zone is qualified by the words "as soon as military considerations allow"—a period which only Germany can determine. They omit to mention, however, that this clause applies only to anchored mines. Unanchored contact mines are prohibited

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altogether unless "so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after the person who laid them ceases to control them." The laying of anchored mines which do not become harmless after breaking loose is also banned.

The very terms of the German reply to the accusation of a breach of international law indicates, therefore, the violation of one or more of the clauses of the Hague Convention. But whether the Allies are either legally justified or wise in adopting as a reprisal the seizure of German exports carried in neutral ships is another question. It may be noted that a similar measure was put into effect in 1915 and despite neutrals' protests was maintained until the end of the war. Moreover, when this country became a belligerent it included the ban in its own blockade enforcement. The effort to kill German exports was likewise presumably approved by Japan and Italy in the years when they were British allies, though they are now vigorously assailing the same policy.

Yet these precedents are hardly sufficient to lend authority to a step which is bound to multiply the difficulties and anxieties of neutrals, particularly Holland and the Scandinavian countries, which are dependent on international trade. The Allies claim that the extension of their blockade to exports is justified by the "law of reprisal," but it is doubtful if international jurisprudence recognizes any such principle, at least in so far as it takes the form of a violation of neutral rights.

The practical, as distinct from the legal, defense of the new British Order in Council is easily understandable. So long as Germany is able to export to the world at large it is able to earn foreign exchange which can be expended on imports from those adjacent countries with which a maritime blockade is powerless to interfere. When such exports are cut off, its purchases from neighboring countries must be limited by the amount of German goods which these suppliers are willing to accept.

Among the protesting neutrals Japan and Italy can hardly claim to come into court with clean hands when they accuse Britain of breaking international law. Japan's lawless invasion of China and its constant violation of neutral rights, Italy's gassing of Ethiopians and its assistance to Franco in enforcing an illegal blockade—these acts are too recent in memory to permit any sympathy with their current complaints. Holland, Belgium, and Sweden, which have also filed protests in London and Paris, have a much better case. The first two have always handled a considerable part of German export trade through Rotterdam and Antwerp, and the entire suspension of such business will be a new and serious blow to their hard-pressed economies. Even so there are some grounds for suspicion that the vigor of their criticisms of the Allies is partly due to German pressure, more especially as they do not seem to have reacted nearly so forcefully to the actual losses suffered by their shipping through German mines and submarines.

Blunderbuss

THE heart of Thurman Arnold's letter on labor and the anti-trust laws lies in this passage: "The principle applicable to unions is the same as that applicable to other groups specially protected by law. Investors may combine into a corporation, farmers into a cooperative, and labor into a union. The Anti-Trust Division has the duty to prevent the use of such legal rights of association in an illegal way for purposes far different from those contemplated in the statutes." The simplicity of these sentences is highly deceptive. From them the casual reader would gather the impression that we are dealing with statutes that permit and regulate corporations, unions, and farm cooperatives, and it would seem only fair to apply these statutes to labor unions in the same way as to corporations or farm cooperatives. But what was "contemplated in the statutes"? Two statutes are involved. The first is the Sherman Act of 1890. It was passed because of the widespread fear of the trust. It was called an "anti-trust law," and though some shrewd corporation lawyers were aware that it might be turned to other purposes, few dreamed that the law would soon be converted into a powerful anti-labor weapon. The other statute involved is the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914. It originated in popular resentment against the courts because the Sherman Act had been not merely "ignored" as an *anti-trust* law but "perverted" into an *anti-labor* law. The verbs are those used by Solicitor General Jackson in a speech at Sea Island, Georgia, on May 28, 1937, and they are quoted with approval in a long footnote on page 212 of Thurman Arnold's "The Folklore of Capitalism." The fruit of this resentment against judicial misinterpretation of the anti-trust law was the insertion of clauses in the Clayton Act which were popularly thought to exempt labor unions and farm cooperatives from anti-trust legislation. Gompers hailed the act as a labor "Magna Charta." The courts soon riddled it.

The courts did so because a majority of the judges were unsympathetic to labor. We know that our witty and brilliant Assistant Attorney General does not share that feeling. He wishes "to make it clear that it is only such boycotts, strikes, or coercion by labor unions as have no reasonable connection with wages, hours, health, safety, speed-up system, or the establishment and maintenance of the right of collective bargaining which will be prosecuted." He cites economically indefensible practices, racketeering, and jurisdictional strikes as examples of the kind of conduct against which the Department of Justice has recently proceeded or is now proceeding under the anti-trust laws. This seems sound enough. But let us return for a moment to the question of how reactionary judges, while refusing to use the anti-trust laws effectively against the trust, managed to use these laws against labor *despite the exemptions of the Clayton Act.* They were

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able to do so because, when the bill which became the Clayton Act was amended in Congress, innocent little words were inserted in each of the three clauses which aimed to free labor from judicial tyranny. Labor unions were not to be enjoined under the anti-trust laws from "*lawfully* carrying out the legitimate objects thereof." Pickets were not to be enjoined "from attending at any such place where any such person or persons *may lawfully be.*" Secondary boycott was legalized, but only when carried on "by peaceful *and lawful* means." These italicized insertions enabled the courts to decide what was "lawful," and they proceeded to declare unlawful and to enjoin practices Congress had intended to protect.

Mr. Arnold certainly disagrees as violently as we do with decisions of that kind. But in setting up his own standards for determining which labor-union activities are "lawful" and which "unlawful" he is, in effect, reasoning as these judges did, and subscribing to their view that the anti-trust law was also meant to police labor. Since the courts and not Mr. Arnold will ultimately decide these cases, and the judges of these courts will act on their own idea of what constitutes "lawful" labor activities, he is again opening the door wide to the revised use of anti-trust laws against labor. The whole purpose of Congress in passing the Clayton Act, as later in passing the related Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, was to cut down if not altogether abolish the self-arrogated powers of the courts to declare what was "lawful" and what "unlawful" in labor tactics. In the words of Brandeis's dissent in the Duplex case, "The Clayton Act substituted the opinion of Congress . . . for that of differing judges . . . it declared that the relations between employers of labor and workingmen were competitive relations, that organized competition was not harmful, *and that it justified injuries necessarily inflicted in its course.*" The italics are ours. We think it for Congress and not for Mr. Arnold and the courts to decide the questions of public policy involved even in the examples he has set forth. There are two sides to the question of "the extra driver" on a truck, as of "full crew" laws. Jurisdictional strikes are a great evil for labor as well as the employer, but use the anti-trust laws against them and watch how quickly they become a bulwark of the "independent," employer-dominated union. Far better to let jurisdictional problems settle themselves democratically through Labor Board elections and certification of the majority union.

Every act of legislation is a choice of evils, and it is better to suffer certain labor abuses than to endanger labor unionism by using the anti-trust laws against them. Where employer and employee groups combine together in violation of the anti-trust laws, we would enforce the law equally against both, but we do not think it wise to use the anti-trust laws in the settlement of labor disputes. Anti-trust prosecution is a blunderbuss loaded with buckshot. There are safer weapons against labor-union abuses. There is a federal anti-racketeering statute. There are criminal laws against conspiracy and violence. It is true that there is no law dealing with uneconomic union practices, but we think it wiser to deal with these through mutual education of employer and employee in collective bargaining than to go looking for some legislative patent medicine. Anti-labor forces have always sought to use the anti-trust laws for this purpose, but that shouldn't recommend the procedure to the liberal New Deal. It will be time enough to act against the uneconomic practices of labor when we have ended the far graver and more costly uneconomic practices of capital. As for the racketeer, District Attorney Dewey in New York City has shown that labor rackets can be broken up without establishing precedents dangerous to the labor movement. His success with the poultry racket is an example.

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Women Without Hope

BY TONI CHRISTEN

IN 1934 I attended several lectures delivered by German Labor Front officials to the working women of a leading industrial concern in Berlin. The lectures dealt with the home, care of the baby, hygiene, and folklore and were designed not only to give practical information in those fields but to tone down the women's political ambitions if they had any left after the Nazis took over the German unions. I remember a pleasant, motherly-looking woman who talked at length about the home-loving qualities of the German people. "Die Deutschen sind von jeher ein Wohnstubenvolk gewesen" (Germans have always been a sitting-room people), she repeated over and over to these women factory hands who had little more than a kitchen to call their own.

Yet the speaker was probably right. Germany's *bürgerliche Kultur*—in its connotation a phrase more sympathetic, and therefore more appropriate, than "bourgeois culture"—developed around the German *Wohnstube,* and our Nazi lady's lecture was filled with a good deal of nostalgia for the days when Goethe's Werther adored his Lotte across the family table, and when portraits of three or possibly more generations, all assembled on the same canvas, smiled on the visitor from above the sitting-room sofa. The Germans were always fond of family life, and it developed one of their most attractive qualities—a certain warmth of feeling which found utterance in much of the country's literature and made many friends for Germany abroad. This quality was encouraged until Hitler came to power and began to remake the German people in his own image. Thereafter *Wehrfähigkeit* (capacity for defense, for making war) and not *Gefühl* began to be the dominant note.

German family life as it exists today—after seven years of the Nazi regime—is something very different from what it was in the tradition-bound past. Women of course are more affected by the change than men; their particular values—social and cultural—have had to give way before the onslaught of Nazi ideology, which makes other demands upon women now. Woman as genetrix remains important, but as mother—in a wide cultural and spiritual sense—she has ceased to exist. German women today live in a world that violates all precedents and confuses all except the very young—a world in which the majority, in spite of tons of educational propaganda, remain completely unadapted, physically and spiritually.

The truly happy ones in the Nazi-made world for women are the thirteen-year-old Hitler girls, particularly those who are leaders of their units. They like their club evenings, their camping trips, their political lessons, and their communal responsibilities, though the latter may mean only collecting the empty toothpaste tubes and tin cans on the block. Treated by their superiors as grown-ups and future political factors, they feel important as bearers of a new world creed. I remember a Sunday afternoon at a friend's house, spent mostly in the society of her young daughter. She showed me all her treasures: her uniform, her report books, her weekly instruction sheets, and the club's cash register. She told me how she kept the girls of her group interested and in line during their club evenings and their excursions. She also told me that the Suez Canal must come under Italian domination, that the Balkans are part of the German vital space, and what is wrong with the Hindu and Moslem world. She finally left me to go down to the kitchen and prepare the Sunday supper. With another uniformed little virago of her age she set the table and cut butter and radishes into fascinating designs. She was utterly contemptuous of her eighteen-year-old sister, who powdered her nose, took no interests in politics, and came down to supper in a pretty little afternoon frock.

For the eighteen-year-old girls don't like their uniforms. They find the white shirtwaists and dark skirts unbecoming. They dislike taking up street collections for the relief organizations and going to club meetings. They prefer to go to dances and the movies. Yet they too enjoy a feeling of personal importance—they are the darlings of the nation because they are its future mothers. The value of their future function is so strongly impressed upon them that their emotional outlook becomes not unlike that of the queen bee before her nuptial flight. They are courted by young men of their own age and are desirable in the eyes of older men, who—for the sake of the fatherland—are ready to divorce their middle-aged wives and start life over again.

They could be happy if there weren't so many other things confusing their lives. Just when they finish school and would like to enjoy themselves they are faced with their duty year—six months' unpaid labor in a family with at least three small children. Often this means toiling from six in the morning till eleven at night, cooking, washing, tending babies, sewing. "My time is up next month," one of these Cinderellas wrote me, "I hope I am still alive on the day I regain my freedom."

Girls who want to enter the university or prepare for a degree have to spend another six months in a labor camp, from which they go out to farm work. Here their

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relative freedom brings them into contact with boys from labor camps, with young storm troopers, and with other party leaders. They are fed much propaganda about the beauty of mating and raising the birth-rate statistics. Some of the girls react in quite unexpected ways—refuse to be regarded as biological factors, tire of the boys' crude advances, and reject the joys of too early a pregnancy. There are amusing stories of some of the labor camps in southern Germany, where the girls have gone on strike and refused to have anything to do with male society, of the party or otherwise.

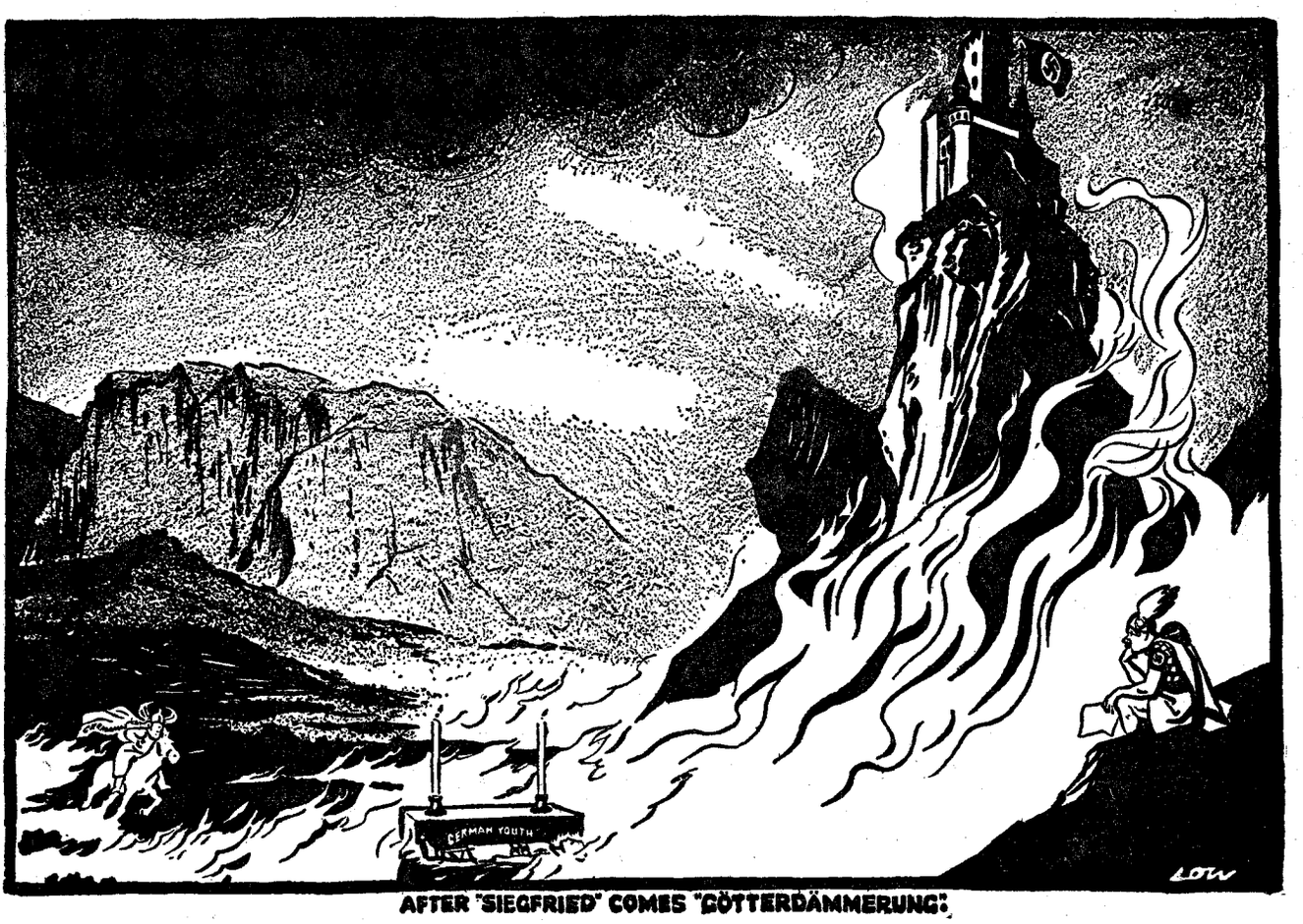
Few girls go to the university or continue intellectual pursuits of any kind. Those who want teaching jobs take up domestic science or gymnastics. Others, unless they marry, take subordinate positions in business or the civil service. Because of the shortage of labor in Germany women are being quietly returned to the ranks of wage-earners. And wage-earning is a grim business—long hours, little pay. Amusements are costly since the girls share expenses with their escorts. And again the girls find themselves in the dilemma of their labor-camp years. Platonic friendships are not popular among Nazi men; marriage, unfortunately, often isn't either.

The lucky girl who marries young, possibly with a government subsidy, starts her life healthily and competently enough since training in the Hitler Youth and during her duty year have prepared her for any emergency. She scrubs, cooks, sews, and tends babies easily. She has been taught to live modestly; she spends little on cosmetics, wants little amusement. She is clean, blonde, pretty, and practical. She does not read much because she has no leisure. She goes to the movies or the theater on cheap *Kraft durch Freude* tickets.

She and her husband know that children are needed to make a bigger and more powerful Germany. They have children—one, two, three, even more. The young mother has to do the housework herself. There is no help available, and if there were she could not afford it on her husband's salary. Sometimes after her third child she is allotted a duty-year girl—one of the Hitler maidens, none too efficient at her new task. The work of running house and family is complicated by the difficulties of obtaining food. Many hours are wasted in standing in line for butter or meat. The young husband would help if he could, for Nazi ideology has taught him not to be squeamish about caring for the baby or the house. But he has no leisure himself. When he isn't working, he is on duty for the party or in military training.

These young mothers do not mind the prospect of losing their children to the Hitler Youth organization. It means lessened responsibilities for them. Only persons of an older generation object to seeing their little ones trot off with knapsack and camping utensils every single Saturday or Sunday. They still believe in family life even if their children don't. But the sons and daughters of this older generation are in the main ready for labor camp and military service.

It isn't so bad to have one's daughter working as a



AFTER "SIEGFRIED" COMES "GÖTTERDÄMMERUNG"

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farm hand or an unpaid domestic. She acquires a good deal of knowledge valuable in later life. But boys, most of them just eighteen, face a real ordeal in the labor camp. No consideration is given the spoiled boy or the boy in delicate health. The labor of road-building and swamp-clearing is heavy. There are accidents; there is disease. Medical care is insufficient and often refused on the suspicion of malingering. The mortality rate in labor camps all over the country is high. This summer I met one of those unfortunate mothers who have had a son die during his labor service. The boy had contracted an infected foot from working in the swamps in rubber boots drawn over bare feet. Though his foot was swollen and painful, he had been refused hospital care, and to punish him for complaining had been obliged by the camp leader to wash sixty extra linen uniforms in one day. The boy saw no doctor, received no treatment, until he fell unconscious. After his death his mother was warned not to make complaints.

The glory of the Nazi regime is paid for by heavy sacrifices, but those who make the sacrifices receive the thanks of the nation. Or so I thought before Mrs. Schmidt taught me I was wrong. I had seen Mrs. Schmidt occasionally in the stores where I did my marketing. I did not know her, but I learned afterward that she had been the wife of a well-known scientist living in comfortable circumstances. The day I talked to her she came out of a drugstore, a woman about fifty years old. Her gray hair was untidy under a black straw hat, her shoes and clothes were shabby, and she herself wore a look of utter defeat. She spoke to me right there in the street, told me her tale of woe and loneliness as we walked up and down on the sidewalk between one lamp-post and another. I imagine she had to talk to someone, and probably I looked sympathetic.

"You see, older women are no good in Germany," she said. "We are no longer capable of bearing children. We have no value to the state. All we can do is get a job in a munitions factory and possibly on the most dangerous bench, too, because it doesn't matter if we blow up. They don't care for us mothers or grandmothers any more. We are worn out, discarded."

"But aren't you married?" I queried. "I thought I heard you addressed as Mrs. Schmidt."

"I was married, but my husband divorced me recently."

"Doesn't he look after you? And what about your children?"

"My boys are in military service; one daughter is on her duty year, and the other is married. Her husband does not earn enough to support me. My husband remarried. He is fifty-eight and the girl twenty-two. She is expecting a baby."

"And what are your plans?" I continued politely.

"I have sold my jewelry and now I must look for work. I don't really mind that. The awful thing is the loneliness. One is so unaccustomed to it after one has had a family for twenty-five years. One would rather be a dog, go into a corner and die. Yet they gave me the mothers' cross of honor only last year because I had had four children."

Then she excused herself for having addressed me so unconventionally. "I had to talk to someone, I haven't spoken to a friend in days." She nodded to me and went away quickly, as if she suddenly repented of her confession.

What a bitter joke on a woman! To give her the mothers' cross of honor one year and discard her as a valueless nonentity in the next—because she is fifty, because she is not likely to bear another child.

The new divorce laws in Germany make it easy for a husband to divorce his wife if she can no longer bear children. Nor is he obliged to pay alimony if she is capable of earning her living in any way. By cutting off her income, the state forces the divorced woman into the working processes of the nation. Many older women find themselves today in the strange predicament of being thrown into the street without a penny after having shared their husband's fortune for half a lifetime and born and raised his family loyally and efficiently. Their husbands, encouraged by their new ideological concepts, go out and marry again, possibly a girl just out of school. Many leading men of the party, Cabinet members, famous scientists have set the pace, divorcing their middle-aged wives and marrying girls of hardly more than flapper age.

The situation is definitely threatening to the security of the average wife and mother. Even the young women are alive to the danger in the new legal set-up. Several women in their early twenties told me that they wouldn't stand for a divorce when they were "old and thirty-six." They would make their husband stay, one way or another. Mistrust, fear, worry, and contempt will not establish valuable human relationships within the family. They will destroy the moral standards of all involved. They will ultimately affect the nation. Italian fascism has avoided the error of weakening the family by indulgent divorce laws, but the Nazis forget that the conventions and taboos affecting family life were not invented for the pleasure or displeasure of a temporary regime but for sound utilitarian purposes.

Meanwhile the women in war-time Germany are taking over, steadying themselves for the dark days ahead. It is not easy for them, less easy than for women of other nations, because they face this new catastrophe morally and physically depleted. German women are jaded, keyed-up, and in an over-emotional state already. Yet their first instinctive revolt has been subdued. Military and police have clamped down on them, and there

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is little chance of actual opposition now. Also the endurance of the German women is not yet exhausted, though their bodies have grown thin in two months of war. They do not seem to live in a real world. They walk as in a dream, taking each new restriction and regulation with trance-like passivity. They still endeavor to "do their duty."

There is a long chain of German women joining hands these days, holding the home front as best they can. But any chain is as weak as its weakest link. That weak link is—Mrs. Schmidt. You cannot rouse her any more with high-sounding words or threats. Her heart and hands are too completely empty. And I predict the chain will start to break right there.

Sweatshops in the Home

BY HERBERT SOLOW

UNDER a decree handed down by a federal court in New York last week some 10,000 homeworkers in the knitting-goods industry from Maine to Tennessee will reap a windfall of more than $250,000. The sum is not large as such things go, but the decision, rendered by Judge Edward A. Conger, is of prime importance far beyond the confines of the $10,000,000 industry affected. For the first time it clearly applies the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, better known as the wage-and-hour law, to industrial homeworkers and in doing so scotches a flourishing practice by which employers were enabled to pay as low as 1½ cents an hour in an industry whose minimum wage had been fixed at 30 cents an hour. The evidence dug up by government investigators and presented to the court affords an interesting case study of techniques in the art of evading the law.

The products involved in the case were chiefly sack sets, consisting of one tiny hand-crocheted jacket, or sack, and a cap or booties to match. These retail in New York department stores at between $2.70 and $4 per set, depending on quality. The crocheters got from $2.25 to $4 *per dozen sets*. The mark-up between labor and consumer on an item involving relatively small charges for materials and marketing thus ran as high as 1,200 per cent. A typical skilled worker whom I interviewed had been crocheting an average of five hours daily since 1934. She produced as a rule twelve sets in thirty-two hours, for which she received $3, a rate of 9 cents an hour. This appears to have been a relatively good rate. A study made in 1938 by the New York Bureau of Homework Inspection showed wages as low as 5½ cents an hour, and a 1939 federal study showed the minimum of 1½ cents an hour.

Most of the employers were centered in New York, but the work was done in the tenements of Brooklyn, the Bronx, Jersey City, and Philadelphia; in little homes in Danbury (Connecticut), Middletown (New York), and Atlantic City; and in the farm kitchens of rural Maine and Tennessee. For the most part housewives alone did the work, but in some families three or four persons participated. Children often crocheted or made deliveries, sometimes in violation of state child-labor laws. Sanitary conditions, less subject to control than in factories, were frequently below legal standards, a factor of considerable importance in the marketing of infants' wear.

The scheme hinged on a system of foremen, one of whom explained to me how the thing was worked. Before the passage of the act, the foreman would receive by express about 100 pounds of yarn weekly from a manufacturer in another town, which she in turn distributed among a score of local crocheters. The factory paid her from $2.75 to $4.50 per dozen sets, and she paid the crocheters from $2.25 to $4 per dozen. In 1938 the minimum wage was set under the new law at 25 cents an hour, and was soon raised to 30 cents. Experts on the industry, aside from employer spokesmen, declared that such a wage could be paid without killing demand, provided inefficient manufacturers improved their methods and those making abnormal profits contented themselves with a little less.

Wages, however, did not go up. Instead, a group of eleven employers joined a group that called itself the Hand Knitcraft Institute, and under the guidance of the institute's attorneys transformed employment relationships. Foremen were told they would no longer get yarn on consignment from the plant. Instead, as the foreman explained to me, "the workers began buying yarn direct from the yarn people. The old boss told me what articles, designs, and quantities he wanted. I would divide his order among my workers and make out order sheets in triplicate. I kept one, each worker got hers, and the third went to the boss so he knew what to expect from each individual. The boss gave me purchase orders printed on postcards. The workers used these to order from the yarn people just what each one needed to make what the boss had ordered. The yarn people sent the material by prepaid express to each worker. The workers brought the finished products to me. I tagged each one's bundle and shipped the lot weekly to the boss. The boss then sent me a batch of checks, each covering the value of one worker's

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yarn and labor. The worker could cash his check and pay the yarn people for the material with a money order. I was paid on a commission basis. The workers were no longer on social security because they were now merchants, buying and selling."

The foreman often filled out purchase-order postcards for the workers. She also cashed their checks, giving them the value of their labor and buying with the remainder of the cash a money order which she sent to the yarn people. Naturally, these little "merchants" had no commercial equipment. Accommodating foremen supplied and filled out blanks purporting to be bills submitted by each worker to the foreman for the sale of finished products. Not so strangely, it always happened that the weekly profit of the "merchants" was approximately the equivalent of the old piece-rate wage that the manufacturer had given them before the wage-and-hour law decreed a minimum for the industry. Employers have always objected to a minimum wage for homework identical with that for factory work, arguing that the homeworker saves at the rate of 10 cents hourly in carfares, lunch money, and "incidentals." But even if this dime had been added to the 5½ cents they paid (not to speak of 1½ cents), there would have remained a yawning gap between the homework rate and the legal rate.

Naturally enough, the homework system expanded rapidly at the expense of factory work based on the minimum legal rate. The Knitgoods Workers' Union, an affiliate of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, claiming 75 per cent of the 26,000 factory workers in the industry, could get nowhere with the homeworkers, who were always afraid that a change in the arrangement would eliminate them altogether. Last spring Louis Nelson, manager of the union's largest local, told the employers that he regarded their homework scheme as illegal. The employers replied that what happened to unorganized homeworkers was not the union's business.

The government investigation, headed by Murray Baron at the direction of George B. Kelly, New York regional director of the Wage-Hour Division of the Labor Department, was thorough, and the evidence it uncovered was ably presented to the court. The case was so clear-cut that the employers felt compelled to acquiesce in the resulting decree. Had they decided to fight, they might well have found themselves facing even graver action, for what the court called a "scheme or device" could less politely be called a conspiracy.

Now home crocheters are no longer "merchants" (incidentally, they will probably regain the social-security benefits denied them during their transitory "commercial" careers), and the emergence of the sweatshop in disguise is at least temporarily checked. With as much as a 1,200 per cent mark-up for employers to cut into, there is no need for the consumer to be nicked.

The Empire and the War

BY ALBERT VITON

NOW that oratorical declarations of loyalty are over, the important question emerges: Can the dominions and colonies of the British Empire make a significant contribution to the struggle which they have made their own? For not one of the dominions has a war machine comparable even with the second-rate machine Poland was able to put in the field; not one of the colonies has a military organization approaching that developed by Mussolini in his African possessions. Before the outbreak of war the dominions had come closer to complete disarmament than any other modern state except Luxemburg, which is hardly a state; and the total military strength of the fifty-odd British colonies was less than 30,000 men, most of whom were in semi-police organizations. Of what value, then, is the far-flung empire likely to be to the mother country in this war?

For the next six months or so England will receive little aid of any value from the empire. Indeed, it will find the empire a liability. British troops must still be kept in the Near East and in other places; the British navy is not able to throw its whole strength into blockading Germany because it must guard the back doors of the empire; officers badly needed for the enlarged army at home and in France have had to be sent to the imperial backwoods. But before long the situation will change radically. And the longer the war lasts, the more important will be the empire's contribution. In a war of attrition, such as the present one is likely to be, not the number of guns on hand at the outset, not even the amount of stored raw materials, will determine the issue, but the amount of accessible raw materials in the ground and the capacity to exploit them. Increasingly important also will be the human reserves and no less for expanding production than for replacements in the battle line.

Germany began the war with a population of almost 91,000,000, which is somewhat larger than the combined population of France and Britain. Since September 3,

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moreover, Germany has acquired some 20,000,000 Poles, hundreds of thousands of whom are being compelled to do useful work. However, the entrance of the dominions has already swept into the conflict 25,000,000 whites on the side of the Allies. And while Germany experienced a shortage of labor even before hostilities began, the dominions had a surplus population—the unemployed—which will now enter production. In addition, the empire has 450,000,000 colored inhabitants. Tens of millions of these have been engaged in the production of necessary raw materials, but anyone at all acquainted with conditions in the colonies and India knows that tens of millions more can easily be found for expanding present industries. The colored empire is an inexhaustible source of man-power.

At present the British, for imperial reasons, are not eager to use this immense human reservoir for military purposes, and they are not raising colonial armies. One can foresee, however, that ugly necessity will bring about a change in policy if the war is long drawn out. Already millions of colored men in all parts of the empire have offered to enlist. Their names have been placed on special registers, and they will be called for training as the need develops. Long after Germany will have exhausted its human resources, the British Empire will have millions of men at its call.

With respect to material resources the empire will be of even greater importance. Its food resources are nearly inexhaustible. In 1937 the dominions alone produced some 12,000,000 tons of beef and veal, more than 600,000 tons of mutton and lamb, and almost as much pork. The empire produced more than 255,000,000 quintals of wheat against Germany's 78,000,000, more than 320,000,000 bushels of barley, and millions of bushels of rye, maize, oats, rice, and other products. Again the important point to bear in mind is that while Germany cannot possibly expand its acres under cultivation, a different situation prevails in the British Empire. Production of most foodstuffs can be rapidly expanded.

The British Empire has been the world's largest producer of the agricultural raw materials necessary for industry. Even before the outbreak of war Germany suffered from a shortage of cotton, wool, flax, hemp, jute, rubber, and vegetable oils. The British Empire, on the other hand, had a superabundance of all these. The whole clip of the world's two greatest producers of wool, Australia and New Zealand, has already been taken over by Britain; in 1936 their combined production totaled close to 1,300,000,000 pounds. Britain will not only experience no deficiency in wool; it will be able to resell to neutrals on a profitable basis. No different is the situation with regard to rubber, in which the British and Dutch empires share a monopoly. Germany, of course, manufactures synthetic rubber, but this requires raw materials it can ill afford for this purpose and a tremendous amount of human labor, while the durability of the finished product is much less than that of natural rubber.

The empire lacks only one important raw material —oil. Although it has produced about six times as much crude petroleum as the Reich, it has had to meet almost its whole need with imports from the outside. But even in this respect Britain is in a far better position than the Reich. For not only can production be increased under the stimulus of necessity and higher prices, but, what is more important, much of the empire's crude petroleum comes from countries which while not marked red on British maps fall within Britain's sphere of influence: their resources are exploited by British-controlled companies. Both Iraq and Iran are outside the boundaries of the empire; yet Britain has the final word as to the destination of their petroleum. The British government is the largest shareholder in the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company; Mosul oil is produced by an Anglo-French consortium and flows through territory controlled by the British and French.

The empire has also become a large producer of vital minerals. While not more than 100,000 tons of asbestos were produced in 1914, close to half a million tons was extracted in 1937. Against Germany's production of 71,000 tons of copper can be pitted the 560,000 produced in the empire. Canada alone mines about 11 per cent of the world's supply of this most necessary metal. Very little nickel was produced in 1914; now Canada furnishes 87 per cent of the world's total supply and production in Burma and Rhodesia is increasing. Against Germany's 190,000 tons of lead, one must put the empire's production of more than half a million tons; against its 4,000,000 tons of iron, the 10,000,000 extracted in Britain and the empire. During the last twenty years the empire has become an important producer of aluminum, bauxite, barium, chrome, manganese, tungsten, zinc, tin, and many other minerals of supreme importance in war. Practically no tungsten ores, which are so important in munitions, were produced in the British Empire in 1914; in 1937 about 8,000 tons were mined. The empire also accounted for about 20 per cent of the world's supply of zinc in 1937.

The significant thing about the empire's mineral resources is that they are almost inexhaustible and can be produced in quantities to meet any demand however great. The truth is that the British Empire is so rich that no one knows what and how much it really has. Every year proves that it is far richer than anyone had suspected. Engineers prophesied twenty-five or thirty years ago, to cite one example, that, the gold supply of South Africa would give out in twenty years; yet today more gold is being taken out than ever and the end is as far from sight as ever. Hardly a year passes that new resources are not discovered and new companies started to

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exploit them. Hundreds of mines have been closed since 1920 because of a glutted market; hundreds of concessions have been granted which have not been used; self-denying agreements have been made to cut production. Even the low production of petroleum is due far more to politics than to scarcity. Britain has followed a consistent policy of keeping empire oil production down as low as possible; it prefers to have this country exhaust its resources. So rigidly has this policy been followed that both Iran and Iraq, which need the royalties, have protested more than once against the restrictions.

Since 1914 the dominions, India, and many of the colonies have become great industrial nations. Canada is now the fifth or sixth industrial nation in the world, and India ranks eighth; in 1914 industry had not gone far in either. Every dominion is now equipped to turn out finished war materials, production of which will get under way during the next few months; factories devoted to peace-time need are being converted everywhere into munition plants. The industrial capacity of the dominions has increased by more than 60 per cent as compared with 1914, while that of the empire as a whole has probably increased by 300 to 500 per cent.

As arsenals for finished arms, munitions, and planes the importance of the dominions cannot be overestimated. Far removed from the scene of conflict, and with an almost inexhaustible supply of labor and raw materials, they have tremendous possibilities for production. Even in 1917 Canada produced munitions costing £333,000,000—compared with £28,000 in 1914. Three years after the outbreak of the World War the Ministry of Munitions spent in Canada no less than 15 per cent of its total expenditures. And today, unlike 1914, when no one thought of the dominions as potential arsenals, plans have been laid long in advance.

Nor should it be overlooked that Britain does not have to worry about the wherewithal for obtaining all these resources. In the first place, the dominions and nearly all the colonies have already made appropriations for purchasing the necessary raw materials. Australia spent £15,000,000 (Australian) during the first year of the last war; its Minister of Finance has already indicated that the original appropriation of £40,000,000 will not suffice for this financial year. The Canadian government has already borrowed some $200,000,000 for war purposes. In the second place, since sterling is the basis of all currencies in the empire, Britain does not have to ship gold. The decline in the exchange value of the pound sterling will not affect its value within the empire. Thirdly, Britain holds approximately £2,000,000,000 of imperial securities which can be used in payment.

But while production is no longer a serious problem, other matters are no doubt giving Messrs. Churchill and Hore-Belisha sleepless nights. All these vast quantities of raw materials, munitions, and men have to be moved, and that means shipping. In normal times about 60,000 tons of goods are brought every day in ships to the British Isles; the war will undoubtedly cause a sharp upswing. In the last war, with about 9,000 ships totaling 21,000,000 tons, the empire experienced a serious shortage; now, with more goods to move, it has 1,150 fewer ships, although the total tonnage is about the same.

Indeed, the situation is even more serious than these figures indicate. Great Britain's shipbuilding capacity is now much smaller than it was at the outset of the last war, which came after a period of intense naval construction. Close to two billion tons of merchant ships were launched in 1913; about half that amount was launched last year. And though Germany did not start its unrestricted submarine campaign till 1917, empire losses during the war exceeded replacement by 3,100,000 tons—in spite of the intense building. The shipping situation is made even more critical by the American Neutrality Act, preventing American ships from carrying munitions of war. Everything will be done, of course, to increase building in the dominions, but whether their shipyards can be expanded rapidly enough to replace the losses remains to be seen. At the moment, with an average daily loss of more than two-thirds as much tonnage as was lost during the worst period of the last war, the situation is far from happy.

It is unfortunate that the empire has no general staff to organize the military efforts of its various parts and to coordinate their production. Each dominion is full master of its own house; even for the colonies no coordinating organization has been set up. Until now every effort to remedy this deficiency has met with uncompromising opposition from the dominions. During the last Imperial Conference, held in 1937, Canada and the Union of South Africa put up so bitter a fight against the proposal to form at least a central advisory and planning body that Prime Minister Bennett of Canada felt it necessary to acknowledge later that the empire did still exist. The Imperial Defense Committee, an all-British show, is a very poor substitute. The seriousness of this handicap should not be underestimated. The last war showed the dangers of multiple control, although all the dominion forces were then under the authority of the British commander-in-chief, and no doubt in this war many highly important efforts will be neutralized and wasted. But there are indications that the self-governing dominions are slowly overcoming previous prejudices. The idea of calling dominion ministers to London for purposes of consultation was a masterstroke. At present they are opposed to forming another Imperial War Cabinet, but the logic of realities will probably bring about a change even there. Shipping is the chief problem now confronting Great Britain.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Germany's Hopes and Plans

The Hague, November 11

GERMAN military and naval men are entirely sincere in their belief that nothing can prevent their defeating the Allies in this war and getting revenge for the disaster of 1918. They point with joy to the extraordinarily short line they have to defend in the west and have no doubts whatever about the impregnability of the Siegfried Line, in which view they are upheld by the American correspondents who were shown over the fortifications just before I arrived in Germany. They have so many men on the western front that they have not called more than one-third of their reserves. In the streets of all the large cities one sees young men of military age in civilian clothes. Only in a few places are women active as street-car conductors or railway ticket-takers as in the last war. They are not yet taking over men's jobs on a large scale.

The movement of troops and guns to the Italian-French frontier, which I think I have been the first to report, is in my judgment merely to make that line so strong that Gamelin and his troops would be unable to drive into Italy should they wish to do so. I do not believe it means that Italy contemplates entering the war later, especially since there seems to be no question that the King of Italy refused to sign the mobilization order laid before him by Mussolini on September 2. The movement of troops to Spain I cannot explain. I first heard of it when a reserve officer attached to the highest German command told me that next spring Gamelin would be fighting "on other fronts" than the Rhine. When I asked him which, he replied: "Spain, for example." I got confirmation of this from other sources. Whether anything more than a diversion is contemplated, I do not know, but the French and British secret services must be aware of it if German troops are going to Spain. In this connection I recall that an American correspondent who was on the Loyalist side during the civil war warned some of us last winter to watch Spain if war came, giving it as his belief that part of the price paid by Franco for German assistance was permission to Germany and Italy to place forces along the Spanish-French frontier in the event of war.

I have heard the number of submarines the Germans are laying down given as four hundred. Every available space in the shipyards is being utilized, and I was told with great pride that American belt-conveyor methods are being used to bring about mass production. I think the number being completed as fast as possible is larger than the figure given by Winston Churchill in Parliament on November 8—two a week. Certainly, the Germans are counting on an enormous number of them. They recall that in the last war the first large order for submarines—three hundred—was not placed until September, 1918. Since it is obvious that they would not repeat this mistake, I think at least three hundred have been laid down, and I am inclined to believe the larger figure nearer the mark.

More important than the question of how many of these boats can be completed by May 1, when the great offensive is to be started, is how the necessary crews can be trained in so short a space of time; that is where skepticism creeps in. On the other hand, it is to be assumed that the Germans have been thinking about this problem for a long time past and preparing for it. I was told that they had. I saw the men of the submarine which sank the Royal Oak when they arrived in Berlin for the ovation given to them. They looked young, very young, but they obviously knew their business; parenthetically, I have learned that they went into Scapa Flow on the surface with their searchlight going as if they were a British vessel, and that they got out by a narrow channel close to the shore without submerging.

As I knew the old German army pretty well, I was naturally interested in the appearance of the present troops. They are nothing like so snappy, or so well set up, or so well clothed as their predecessors of 1914. Their uniforms fit badly, the material is poor, and the color varies. The officers have little of the rigidity of the old Prussians, which is in itself no drawback. The men are of course good material and will give a good account of themselves, but one neutral military observer does not think that the air force is as well trained as the American or British, and there is doubt of the value of some of the younger line officers.

As for the generals, no one qualified to judge believes that they are as good as those of 1914. A person who knows Brauchitsch well thinks him mediocre and most of his associates not much better. Von Fritsch was the best; and he, by the way, was not murdered as rumored, but deliberately chose death on the battlefield and refused to allow first aid to be given him when he was wounded a second time.

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Crisis at Harvard

BY MARSHALL H. STONE

Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 20

IN THE spring of 1937 two instructors in economics at Harvard University were informed that their services would be terminated two years from that time. The announcement affected not only the academic futures of Dr. Alan Sweezy and Dr. J. Raymond Walsh. It brought to the fore problems of tenure and promotion which were of general as well as local concern. It focused public attention upon Cambridge and stirred debate in academic circles throughout the country.

The incident led to the formation at Harvard of a Special Committee of nine senior professors, to which President Conant gave official standing. This committee was charged with investigating both the Walsh-Sweezy case and the general problems which it disclosed. Its recommendation to reinstate the two economics instructors was rejected by the Harvard Corporation in 1938, but its second report was expected to have greater influence; it was awaited with special interest on all sides. The report, 165 pages in length, was transmitted to President Conant on March 25, 1939, over the signatures of eight of the nine original members, one having died before the report was completed. From April 10 to April 28 President Conant gave members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, both in groups and as individuals, such opportunity to express criticism of the report as seemed to him consistent with the faculty's constitutional standing in the matter. Then, on May 22, 1939, in an open letter to the Board of Overseers, he announced his adoption of the report in "principle." Indeed, important recommendations of the report were actually made operative from April 28 to June 3 with the active cooperation of Professor W. S. Ferguson, a member of the committee, who consented to serve as Dean of the Faculty for a term commencing officially on September 1, 1939.

Now, in the autumn of 1939, influential sections of the faculty and student body are openly protesting against immediate application of the report by the administration. The efforts of the committee and the administration over two years have ended only in the intensification of preexisting grievances. Certain aspects of this situation will be of interest to all who are interested in higher education in the United States. But in exploring it I shall have to consider not only the general bearing of the report but also particular phases of its application in Harvard University. The chief recommendations of the report fall into four groups:

(1) Recommendations for the standardization of the employment of graduate students as assistants and instructors; (2a) recommendations for gradual earned advance in rank, salary, and tenure for all regular members of the teaching staff, and (2b) for permanent tenure beginning, normally, in the ninth year of service with the rank of associate professor and an initial salary of $4,000, which will rise automatically to $5,250 in the sixth year; (3) recommendations to secure orderly administrative procedure and due deliberation in all decisions affecting appointments, advancements, and dismissals at the levels mentioned in (2a) and (2b); and (4) recommendations for special administrative funds to be used in making necessary adjustments from time to time in favor of particular departments as circumstances may require.

All these recommendations involved modifications of the system then in force. Under (2a) and (2b) the report contemplated improving the salaries of men in the initial stages and reducing the average age of men at the point of transition to permanent tenure. On the other hand, no modifications of the higher salary levels were proposed. In particular, the report approved by implication the prevailing Harvard practice of keeping the budgetary path clear for the advancement of each man on permanent tenure to an eventual full professorship at the normal salary. With this practice in mind, the report calculated that a reduction of the number of teachers falling roughly in the age-group thirty-seven to forty-three would have to be made: to quote its own figures, given on page 43, "there would thus be about forty-two men in the first six years of the rank of associate professor . . . these men would replace the existing assistant professors, of whom there were fifty-four in 1936-37, and fifty-nine in 1938-39." The report anticipated that this reduction would be met by the appointment of additional men at the lower levels and would produce a budgetary saving approximately equal to the net increase in expenditures due to these replacements and to the operation of (1) and (2a).

As a basis for long-term university policy, the general proposals of the report seem fundamentally sound and wise. They are directed squarely toward achieving what should be the end of all studies of the problem of academic appointments—fairer and more generous treatment of teachers at the initial levels while preserving and making more quickly attainable the traditional advantages of

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permanent tenure at the higher levels. In spite of details which appear to be debatable or of purely local application, I am convinced that a pattern more skilfully adjusted to the complexities and difficulties of the problem would be hard to devise.

One feature of the report, however, demands further attention. I refer to the sharp boundary line drawn in (2a) and (2b) between the temporary and permanent ranks. The determination of a precise limit to the period over which a university teacher may be retained on temporary appointments is conditioned by economic and educational factors of great complexity. The determination of the optimum period, moreover, can hardly be undertaken independently of an inquiry into the numerical ratio between the temporary and permanent ranks of the teaching staff.

I find that the report, while noting these aspects of the problem, has failed to explore them systematically or adequately. I surmise that the committee, having agreed to sacrifice administrative flexibility in favor of the complete elimination of actual or possible abuses of the power to continue teachers indefinitely on temporary appointments, fixed the optimum period at eight years largely with reference to its effect upon the status of the individual. It is clear that the specific proposals of the report contemplate a shift in the age-distribution of the Harvard faculty toward a greater proportion of men in the age-group twenty-nine to thirty-seven, at the expense of the number in the age-group thirty-seven to forty-three. It is clear also that the proposals contemplate the automatic annual elimination of those men who fail of promotion to permanent tenure at the end of the eight-year period.

The wisdom of increasing even slightly the proportion of junior teachers in a university where it is already the practice to intrust a great deal of the undergraduate instruction to the less experienced teachers is open to serious question on educational grounds. That the bargaining power of the junior group in the market for academic talent—and also that of the university acting in their behalf—tends to be weakened is undeniable: forced sales are always advantageous to the shrewd buyer. That the suggested dangers may prove in practice to be comparatively slight is a reasonable assumption, in view of the more important influences determining academic conditions. In any case they are not all inherent in the principles of the report, since they can be largely eliminated by revision of the relative numbers and teaching functions of the temporary and permanent ranks. But in view of the questions which have been raised here, I believe that no institution would be justified in adopting a similar plan without prolonged and thorough discussion, in the light of its own particular problems, of points which were not satisfactorily examined in the report.

Lest the smoke of battle in Cambridge obscure the positive merits of the report of the President's Special Committee, I must add a few words about the conflict itself. Its proximate cause is well known: in applying the proposals of the report during the period from April 28 to June 3 last—specifically, only those relating to (2b) above, since time did not permit the implementation of the remainder—the administration transferred or promoted a number of men to permanent posts and offered brief terminating appointments to eight others, assistant professors whose terms were to expire in 1939 or 1940, including some whose service considerably exceeded the eight-year period recommended by the report. But the conflict was not joined solely over debatable issues arising directly from the report or from such applications of its proposals as were made by the administration last spring. Rather, it was the natural result of six years of continued administrative friction and growing distrust of the policies in force.

As a "member of the opposition" I have tried to summarize the situation in the following terms: "Faculty resentment over the effects of the new plan of promotion and tenure is based not only on sympathy for the men whose Harvard careers have been terminated on such short notice; it arises more fundamentally from the conviction that in energetically putting the Harvard budget in order the president and the governing boards have given too little consideration to the effects upon instruction and educational policy. Faculty discussions of the report of the committee were too brief for its many implications to be explored. Neither during those discussions nor after the adoption of the report in principle did President Conant make to the faculty any general statement on the plan now in operation or its non-budgetary aspects. In consequence, many faculty members feel that their power to influence decisions on general policy is inadequate to the responsibilities which they bear for instruction and the realization of Harvard's educational aims. . . ." The development of the crisis was determined in part, of course, by the interactions of particular personalities under the strains produced by budgetary pressure; but it was conditioned also by the channeling of administrative and faculty action prescribed by the statutes of the university.

The existence of such a crisis has therefore posed a fundamental constitutional question, one which may well prove, now or later, to be the most important point at issue: Can the complex modern university be governed both wisely and satisfactorily without effective, constitutional participation of its faculties in the decision of questions of general policy bearing directly on their several educational functions? I am persuaded that the time is overdue for Harvard to reexamine its traditional postulates in the matter, without prejudice one way or the other.

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Haiti—Land of the Forgotten

BY D. LA FERN

IN 1934 President Roosevelt withdrew the United States marines from Haiti as a concession to his good-neighbor policy. Since then editorial America has taken it for granted that we have washed our hands of the unsavory mess we got ourselves into in 1915. With the exception of sporadic references to the 1937 massacres along the Haitian-Dominican border, Haiti has hardly rated a column a year in our daily press. A few magazines continue to purvey the fictions of voodoo, zombis, and cannibalism; otherwise the island concerns us no longer. That it owes us millions of dollars and that an American fiscal representative has dictatorial control over its finances are facts that are scarcely known.

The $24,000,000 loan forced upon the Haitian Council of State by the High Commissioner at the behest of Washington has now been whittled down to less than $9,000,000, but the island's unfavorable balance of trade precludes the likelihood of its ever finding the means to pay the balance of the debt. The demoralization of world markets and the prohibitive height of United States tariffs have combined to shrink Haiti's revenues to $2 per unit of population, as compared with $80 for the tiny Dutch colony of Curaçoa! Haiti is desperately in need of everything but is too poor to import more than $2.50 worth of goods per inhabitant per annum. Its coffee is a drug on the market, fetching at the wayside depots only 2 cents per pound. Its banana crop is controlled by Standard Fruit, an American monopoly, backed by our fiscal representative and the blessings of Washington. Since its other crops face insurmountable tariff walls, intensified agricultural development would but aggravate its difficulties.

The United States could absorb Haiti's agricultural surplus without suffering an appreciable dent in domestic prices. In return Haiti would be an excellent customer. Though we are buying, in terms of the dollar, only 43 per cent of its exports, it is taking from us 54 per cent of its imports, the difference in our favor in 1937-38 being $1,153,402. It would give us all its business if considerations of reciprocity did not require it to buy from countries that take 57 per cent of its exports. Elimination of our tariff barriers would not only be a good stroke of business for us but would enable Haiti to pay off our loan in short order.

When President Sténio Vincent took office in 1930, his avowed policy was to liberate his country from the financial control of the United States. He tried on numerous occasions to have the provisions of the loan agreement modified, especially those pertaining to the rights and powers of the fiscal representative. In 1934, the year we withdrew our marines, a new agreement effected some important changes in the personnel of the fiscal services, but in substance the powers of the fiscal representative were not curtailed. He may still apply 5 per cent of customs receipts and 15 per cent of internal revenue and communal receipts toward defraying the expenses of his department. The government of Haiti can make no appropriations without obtaining his approval in advance. He is in charge of the customs and the internal-revenue services. Haitian tariffs cannot be raised or lowered without his consent. Legislation that involves public funds—and which does not?—cannot even be introduced without his previous approval. His office prepares the budget, only minor details being left to the ministers.

The present fiscal representative is S. De La Rue. Haiti pays him a salary of $10,000 a year, plus $5,000 for expenses, plus generous allowances for transportation and conveniences, plus $20 a day when he is traveling in the United States, which he does a good deal of the time, presumably on Haitian business. His assistant, Rex A. Pixley, receives $8,000 a year, plus $3,000 for expenses, plus other grants.

In return, Mr. De La Rue has fought the battle of Standard Fruit against all comers, including the Haitian Pineapple Company, an American firm. He has favored the Haitian-American Sugar Company (Hasco) over independent distillers. He has been in favor of giving the monopoly of the purchase and exportation of coffee to a New York firm; and though balked in that, he has succeeded in allotting it $15,000 of Haitian money to advertise Haitian coffee in American journals. The heavy taxes he imposed on the alcohol and tobacco industries stifled them at birth. He has countered every attempt of the Haitian government to obtain a European loan with which to pay off the debt to America. Haitians attack his administration bitterly and speak privately of the need for an investigation, but they will never ask for it. They are acquainted with the American whitewashing technique, and they fear reprisals.

One would think that with Haitian commerce touching bottom—necessitating moratoriums in 1938 and 1939—the last thing Washington would countenance would be another loan. Yet Mr. De La Rue wanted just that and finally succeeded in selling the idea to the Haitian government in 1938. By what twist of unreason he con-

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vinced Washington of its feasibility, one can only surmise. He is exceedingly proud of his accomplishment, but Haitians have reasons to fear its consequences.

In July, 1938, the Haitian government and the J. G. White Engineering Corporation signed a contract for the avowed purpose of ameliorating the economy of the Republic of Haiti and rehabilitating foreign trade, particularly between Haiti and the United States—an end that could have been achieved by tariff revision. The contract provides that public works of a *productive nature,* such as roads, bridges, drainage canals, irrigation projects, and projects of agricultural development, be undertaken to the value of approximately $5,000,000. The corporation has the sole right to hire and fire workers and to make all purchases, receiving for this, among other emoluments, $5,000 a month, but it assumes no pecuniary obligations, makes no commitments with reference to the program, and is absolved from any claim or liability in connection with the work. To provide the funds, the Haitian government issues promissory notes which the corporation disposes of at face value. Interest is at the rate of 5 per cent. So long as these notes are not fully paid as to interest and principal, Haiti cannot authorize any loan or contract any debt enjoying parity with these notes—the loan of 1922 has of course prior claim on Haitian revenues.

Members of the American colony, from whose club even the President of Haiti is excluded, assure me that this arrangement is the finest thing that could have happened to Haiti. They are convinced that Haitians lack the technical knowledge to build roads, dams, or bridges, that their mental equipment is totally inadequate for the conception and execution of large projects, and that they cannot be trusted with funds. To this Haitians reply that they have progressed a long way since 1915. They point proudly to their dam near Verrettes in the Artibonite, wholly designed and built by Haitian engineers with Haitian capital and materials, and, for its size, as fine a piece of construction as any in the United States. They point even more proudly to Damien, near Port-au-Prince, headquarters and great experimental station of the Service d'Agricole. Damien is a splendid example of what Haiti can accomplish on a mere pittance —but 6 per cent of its revenues. It has taught the peasant improved methods of handling coffee, planting bananas, and raising other crops. It has furnished him seeds, seedlings, and in many instances even his implements. It overcame the effects of the disaster of 1935, when floods laid waste the Southern Department, even sending its men into the devastated valleys with hoes and machetes to plant the remaining soil to bananas. It has set up agricultural colonies for the refugees from the border massacres. Despite a decrease in its budget, it has taken all rural schools under its wing, training its own teachers and supervisors. It is at present the only agency of primary, manual, and agricultural education for the peasant population—90 per cent of the total. It has completed in blueprint a comprehensive program of drainage, irrigation, crop rotation and diversification, based on a knowledge of peasant psychology, rural needs, and soil conditions. Atherton Lee, director of the United States Experimental Station in Puerto Rico and at one time Haitian agricultural counselor, paid in his report a splendid tribute to Damien's achievements. It is hard to conceive how a firm of engineers, ignorant of the language, unversed in tropical agriculture, with a hastily acquired smattering of Haitian problems, can do half as much for Haiti.

Why did President Vincent accept the J. G. White contract? Cuba had repatriated 60,000 Haitians across the Passe du Vent and the Golfe de la Gonave. This tatterdemalion horde, on the verge of famine, was clinging to the environs of Port-au-Prince and other coast towns. The Dominican Republic had not even bothered to ferry its quotas across the Rivière de Massacre. Instead it had butchered most of them as a warning to others to stay on their side of the fence. Border refugees and share-croppers, out of work, infested the towns of the interior. The clamor for work and food had become ominous. The bait of a loan for the financing of public works was irresistible.

Moreover, the bitter pill of the White contract was heavily sugar-coated. The corporation was to act as the mere agent of the Haitian government. The contract could be canceled by either party on three months' notice. The joker lay in the fact that the power of cancelation, if exercised by the Haitian government, would have the fatal thrust of a boomerang. The Export and Import Bank at Washington, holder of the Haitian notes, would at once demand prompt payment of the moneys, plus interest, it had already advanced. The work already done and the money spent would be a total waste. The thousands thrown out of employment would form a basic unit of revolt. If the power of cancelation were exercised by the corporation the government would have to beg reconsideration.

Good roads will produce no revenue, though they may add to the comfort and lessen the hazards of automobile travel. Haitians are trail-walkers. For 130 years they have carried their produce to market on their heads or on donkeys along mountain trails. To this day they use trails in preference to the roads built during the military occupation. The costly highway between Port-au-Prince and the two mountain suburbs of Petionville and Kemskoff will be a boon to the élite, but it won't pay for its upkeep. The irrigation tunnels back of Port-au-Prince will bring more and better water, but no revenue. Besides, American engineers, first-rate technicians in New York, have often turned out to be tenth-

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rate performers in Haiti. There are those bridges built during the occupation with Haitian money and against Haitian counsel, known to this day as America's Folly. Haitians take pleasure in pointing them out to American tourists, for they bridge spaces dry as a bone, the rivers having moved into other channels. The corporation has already spent a million dollars of the loan with little to show for it.

What does America intend to do with Haiti? It is said that Washington seeks to maintain the legend of Haitian autonomy while securing a stranglehold on Haitian finances as an added safeguard for the Caribbean gateway to the Panama Canal. It is even said that the United States, with a serious Negro problem at home, is averse to having a Negro republic work out its own salvation and thereby rally Negro aspirations. Many believe, however, that Washington's intentions are by no means sinister, and that it has been simply unfortunate in its choice of diplomats—career men with axes to grind, who can get farther by keeping us misinformed on Haiti.

Under the present system of control, the benefits that Uncle Sam usually manages to bestow—among many bad things—upon an occupied country, especially sanitation, have been completely dissipated. A few blocks from its main streets Port-au-Prince presents scenes of disease and poverty that beggar description. Half-starved children dog one's steps. Apathy bred of malnutrition and lack of employment is apparent on all sides. The General Hospital, largest in Haiti, has become a veritable house of horrors owing to lack of funds. There are no facilities for the sterilization of instruments; patients would die of hunger if their kin or friends did not bring them their daily food. In rural sections the dreaded yaws have reappeared, together with yellow fever, malaria, leprosy, smallpox, and elephantiasis. Sixty per cent of the population die of tuberculosis, their resistance undermined by malaria and intestinal worms.

Haiti is fully cognizant of its desperate situation, but has exhausted all its remedies. After invading the island on a flimsy pretext in 1915, we left it in the lurch in 1934. It would have been better, perhaps, to have permitted it to fester in its diseases than to have deserted it, as it were, in the midst of a critical operation. Haiti needs our tutelage, but as guidance, not control. It needs our experts, but they must be chosen from those that have a thorough understanding of its needs and no racial prejudices. It needs American capital, but not at the price of monopolistic concession and exemption from the laws of the land. Haiti's doom is inevitable, unless we remove our tariff barriers. The military occupation at least so focused America's attention on Haiti that its abuses had to be remedied. But the insidious civil invasions have done their work without the beating of tom-toms. Haiti has become the land of the forgotten.

In the Wind

THE DENVER *POST'S* story of a recent National Labor Relations Board hearing carried this headline: "Sheriff Uses County Funds to Transport Union Organizers." The story explained, less ambiguously, that the sheriff ran the organizers out of town.

ALTHOUGH THE European front is quiet, Mayor La-Guardia's mind is uneasy. Recently a policeman appeared at a mission house in downtown New York and inquired whether the cellar was big enough to hold all the children. A Sister of Charity asked why he wanted to know. The policeman replied: "I was told to make a survey of cellar space in lower Manhattan in case of air raids. This part of the city would be the most vulnerable."

TO WOMEN working in a London institution the A. R. P. officials recently submitted a detailed questionnaire. Among other things, the women were asked whether they suffered from claustrophobia. When they said they didn't understand the word, the officials defined it as "fear of confinement." Most of the women answered "yes."

WHEN WALTER WINCHELL went on vacation, Newspaper Guildsmen report, he asked Orson Welles to be one of his "celebrity" guest columnists. Welles agreed—on condition that his column should not appear in Hearst's Chicago paper, where Guildsmen are still on strike. He was asked to "forget" the invitation.

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* has a seven-column obit of Adolf Hitler ready for *Der Tag*. . . . At a conscription conference held quietly in Chicago last month, adjutant generals of the National Guard discussed enforcement of the "Selective Service Act." . . . Since the World's Fair closed, it's so quiet at the Soviet Pavilion, investigators report, that you can hear a Finn drop.

PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT: The racing-form page of the Washington *Evening Star* describes the prospects for various horse-race entries. It recently carried this blurb: "Adolf—in clever hands, has been doing everything asked of him in recent trials and he appears at razor edge. A likely winner in his next start."

LEFT WING: The Mexican Communist Party paper recently carried a blast against "Trotskyist Jews" for allegedly supporting Almazán. . . . Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* has launched a concerted drive against American Trotskyists, claiming that "disillusioned Communists" are flocking to them. . . . That new left-wing group getting quietly started here will call itself "The Independent Left."

OVER ITS story on the death of Belgium's "Burgomaster Max" the London *Telegraph* ran the headline: "Burgomaster Max Dead; Collapses After Queen's Visit."

[*The $5 prize for the best item submitted during November goes to R. E. Wolseley of Evanston, Illinois, for the item from the* Writer's Digest *published last week.*]

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Prague, November 17, 1939: Lebensraum

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A CHRISTMAS LIST

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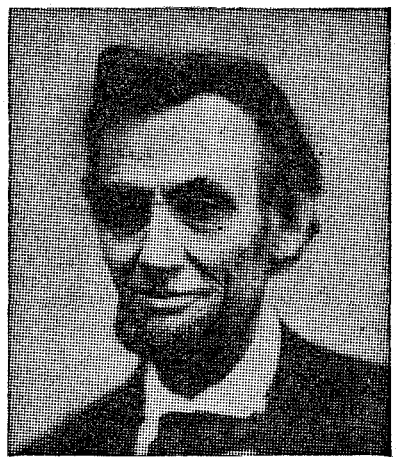

Lincoln's last photograph, April 10, 1865. Five days later he was assassinated.

Carl Sandburg's
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE WAR YEARS

This is the story of Abraham Lincoln, from his inauguration in 1861 to his death and funeral in 1865. It also tells as completely as possible the story of the American nation in those years.

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—STEPHEN VINCENT BENET, *The Atlantic Monthly*

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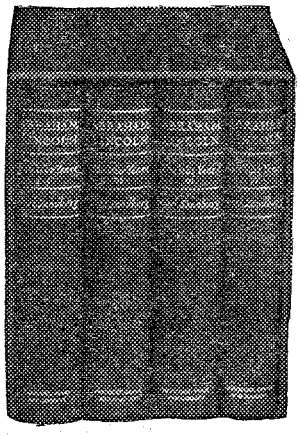

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE *Partisan Review,* which provides from quarter to quarter an extraordinary amount of provocative and interesting reading, has printed in its last two issues answers by eighteen American writers to seven series of questions posed by the editors. Here are sample questions: "Are you conscious, in your own writing, of the existence of a 'usable past'?" "Do you place much value on the criticism your work has received?" "Have you found it possible to make a living by writing the sort of thing you want to?" (The answer, alas, is generally no.) "Are you sympathetic to the current tendency toward what may be called 'literary nationalism'—a renewed emphasis, largely uncritical, on the specifically 'American' elements in our culture?"

The first question, or series of questions, I find the most interesting if only because the answers it evoked contain so much revealing information about the processes and backgrounds of individual writers and of American writers in general. It runs as follows:

> Are you conscious, in your own writing, of the existence of a "usable past"? Is this mostly American? What figures would you designate as elements in it? Would you say, for instance, that Henry James's work is more relevant to the present and future of American writing than Walt Whitman's?

One of the answers, by Robert Fitzgerald, who thinks all the questions are "fuzzy," chides the editors severely for using James and Whitman as symbols: ". . . I'm damn well tired of hearing the two of them built up into antithetical forces in American literature." Yet the answers as a whole would seem to justify the use of the "two of them" if not as antithetical as complementary forces; for the writers themselves apparently tend to regard them as representing two dominant kinds not only of American writing but of writing in general. And the tendency does not seem to have been created by the question.

Henry James would have been more interested in this discussion than Walt Whitman. I am thinking of his remark in "The American Scene":

> . . . it takes an endless amount of history to make even a little tradition, and an endless amount of tradition to make even a little taste, and an endless amount of taste, by the same token, to make even a little tranquillity. Tranquillity results largely from taste tactfully applied, taste lighted above all by experience and possessed of a clue for its labyrinth.

There has been a growing movement to discover and make available the facts of American culture from its earliest beginnings and to define the "main currents in American thought." It is motivated at its best by the search for what James calls "tranquillity" but might as well be called the sureness that grows out of the knowledge and understanding of all relevant experience, which includes surely the knowledge and understanding of the country where one happens to live. This critical search, furthered by such writers as Parrington, Brooks, Constance Rourke, and others, is not to be confused with the narrow "literary nationalism" cited by the editors of the *Partisan Review.* On the contrary, it offers a double antidote to chauvinism. For any intelligent exploration of our culture shows conclusively that it cannot be inclosed in national boundaries; while the demonstration that our cultural past is both extensive and honorable should counteract the ignorance and the exaggerated sense of inferiority which are the mainsprings of literary or any other kind of nationalism. (Parrington's massive study, by the way, is now available in one volume—Harcourt, Brace, $3.45.)

The answers of individual writers in the *Partisan Review* are not surprising in the light of their work, but that does not make them less interesting. Many begin with the obvious truth that all the past, in and out of books, is usable. John Dos Passos goes on to say that the best immediate ancestor for today's American writing is "a dark star somewhere in the constellation containing Mark Twain, Melville, Thoreau, and Whitman." Louise Bogan writes: "If civilization and great art mean complexity rather than simplification, and if the humane can be defined as the well-understood because the well-explored, James's work is certainly more relevant to American writing, present and future, than the naive vigor and sentimental 'thinking' of Whitman." For Henry Miller, Whitman and Rabelais of the left bank, ". . . Henry James is nil; Whitman I believe is more alive than any American ever was and will, in my opinion, live forever." Katherine Anne Porter: "Henry James and Walt Whitman are relevant to the past and present of American literature or of any other literature. . . . For myself I choose James, holding as I do with the conscious, disciplined artist, the serious expert against the expansive, indiscriminately 'cosmic' sort. . . . Neither James nor Whitman is more relevant to the present and future of American literature than, say, Hawthorne or Melville, Stephen Crane or Emily Dickinson; or for that matter, any other first-rank poet or novelist or critic of any time and country."

I wish I had space to give more examples of both questions and answers, which in turn raise a whole new series of questions and possible answers. But I only started out to say that the whole discussion is valuable.

THE FARTHEST NORTH in Nobel literary prizes was awarded to F. E. Sillenpää of Finland. He has lived in Helsinki, much in the news of late, and his book "Meek Heritage" deals with the period of Finnish-Russian struggle during the last war; but there is no evidence that the Russian-Finnish negotiations were arranged by Alfred Knopf merely as a build-up for Sillenpää and the Nobel Prize. Sillenpää's works include at least fifteen volumes, of which six are full-length novels. Only two have been translated into English. The second of these, "Meek Heritage," published last year on the author's fiftieth birthday, was reviewed at length by Louis Salomon in our issue of September 24, 1938. In the

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course of his review he quoted these sentences from Sillenpää which seem to me significant: "In every phase of every stratum of the Finnish people, everything turns mostly to tragedy, a strange thin tragedy. Fate, instead of exterminating the nation, has subjected it to slow torture."

The central figure of "Meek Heritage" is a poor peasant. Sillenpää is himself the son of small farmers who pioneered the land themselves. He managed to get a good education, working his way through the university. He began to publish short stories and articles around 1913. His first novel appeared in 1916. "Meek Heritage" was published in 1919, less than a year after the Finnish-Soviet fighting was over, and according to its American publisher "its impact was tremendous—so much so that the author was granted a lifetime government pension in 1920." That predisposes me toward Finland more than the fact that it pays its debts.

CARL SANDBURG'S life of Abraham Lincoln, of which the four concluding volumes appear this week, has occupied twenty-eight years of the life of Carl Sandburg. Or even more; for as a boy he knew men who had known Lincoln. The story of his researches is a tall tale in itself. He has thumbed through not one but two copies of every known source book on Lincoln—as he explains, he tore the pages from one of each and carried about with him the sections dealing with the part of Lincoln's life he was considering at the moment. He has studied all the pertinent papers, contemporary news accounts, letters. He has traveled up and down the country ransacking libraries and seeking out people whose parents knew Lincoln. He has even investigated the old roads in the country where Lincoln grew up. In addition he made himself familiar with the entire period, with Lincoln's contemporaries, with the songs, clothes, and jokes of the world he lived in. More than four thousand books have been written about Lincoln, and it requires a kind of courage to undertake another, but Sandburg dared to write not only another book about Lincoln but one which should contain "all that is valuable in the basic Lincoln material" and, moreover, one which would be a biography of the whole Lincoln period. Some years ago he wrote to his publishers:

> There is one phase of this job you should know about. This book cannot be read with one reading. I don't mean it is profound in writing or implicative in treatment. But I find that many events and scenes, on successive readings, take on new lights. And there are more than a few moments so vivid and so stupendous that a single reading does not gather them to the mind. You will understand that I mention this to you as an experience people will have. It has lamentations and beatitudes enough to make an American Bible, enough political wisdom to guide this country through several crises and depressions. But I am not inventing the scenes and characters. . . . What is darkly great and subtly beautiful in it was made entirely by other men who are faded and gone. They lived the book before it could be written.

The last sentence applies as well to Mr. Sandburg. At sixty-one he has completed what is surely one of the most extraordinary researches in biographical literature. In the process he has lived, so to speak, a double life. He has experienced, as nearly at first hand as is humanly possible, one dramatic period in American history while actually living through another.

Sandburg's Lincoln

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE WAR YEARS. By Carl Sandburg. Four Volumes. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $20.

MR. SANDBURG'S four volumes on the war years are not so much challenging as informative and pleasurable reading. His latest work on Lincoln demanded a much more distinctly historical treatment than his two volumes "The Prairie Years," published in 1926. For the period covered by the earlier work comparatively meager materials were available. The volumes which complete that story—on four intense years of the storm and stress and unprecedented responsibility of a great public career—are abundantly supplied with documentation and other fruits of research.

The author supports the seventy-six chapters of this major work with material diligently selected from a wide range of the newspapers of the time, from letters, and from abundant official sources. He works this material skilfully into the narrative, without recourse to footnotes.

Mr. Sandburg pertinently widens composite interest by including a large cast of collateral characters, historically related to the far-reaching operations of the Civil War.

President Lincoln, at the beginning of his first Administration, entered on his task with the feeling that he must manage the details of civil business as well as oversee the military. At the same time he treated his Cabinet members, chosen for their abilities and not primarily for their party affiliations, with deference to their proper functions. He had been careful to select men unfriendly to slavery. He had not known from intimate acquaintance the temperaments and ambitions of his advisers. These dispositions revealed themselves to him during the first year or two. He gradually made himself master of the Administration and its objectives—the restoration of the union of all the states and a mild plan of reconstruction. Events added a third policy—the emancipation of the slaves.

As the vilification of the President by the opposition newspapers, which Mr. Sandburg treats with due fulness, became more bitter, Lincoln became convinced that "the enemy behind us is more dangerous than the enemy before us." The opposition-party press grew still more fierce in its effort to turn public opinion against the Executive. It held him up to scorn for his ignorance, his bad manners, his jocose language. Probably very few of the editors who hoped to defeat his policies had ever followed his debates with Douglas, or read his really scholarly Cooper Union address in New York, or tried to discover the far-reaching wisdom of his First Inaugural address. They discounted his ability to use books and the public library at Springfield. Naturally, they could not have been acquainted with the many letters he had written showing his political acumen. Those who had heard his arguments and his public speeches had divined his powerful intellect.

One of the most interesting episodes of the period was the fruitless attempt at conferences with the Confederacy. After Greeley's fiasco in proposing a conference between the Administration in Washington and representatives of the Confederacy sojourning in Canada, a seemingly more impor-

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tant plan originated with F. P. Blair. Blair secured a pass to go to Richmond to talk the matter over with Jefferson Davis, but with no authority to suggest terms. He interested Davis by suggesting the possibility of bringing the two sections into conference with a view to cooperation in driving Maximilian out of Mexico in the interest of the Monroe Doctrine; he even suggested the extension of the influence of the two sections as far south as the Isthmus. Returning to Washington, Blair found that the President was not interested in the Mexican adventure. A conference was arranged, however, which was to be wholly informal. Davis appointed A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, and two associates, Senator Hunter of the Southern Congress and Judge J. M. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War in the Davis Cabinet.

The Confederate delegates, on reaching General Grant's headquarters, expressed disappointment at not having an opportunity to talk with President Lincoln. Grant telegraphed his own disappointment to the President. Mr. Lincoln responded that he would be present, with Secretary Seward. A four-hour discussion failed to bring agreement on the President's threefold demand: the union of all the states, cessation of hostilities, emancipation. Mr. Sandburg gives an adequate account of the conference and its effect upon Congress, to which the President made a special report. Alexander H. Stephens, in his "War Between the States," gives, by the way, an interesting comment on General Grant:

> His conversation was easy and fluent, without the least effort and restraint. In this, nothing was so closely noticed by me as the point and terseness with which he expressed whatever he said. He did not seem either to court or to avoid conversation, but whenever he did speak, what he said was directly to the point and covered the whole matter in a few words. I saw before being with him long that he was exceedingly quick in perception and direct in purpose, with a vast deal more of brains than tongue, as ready as that was at his command.

Mr. Sandburg throws some new light on the second nomination of Lincoln, and on the choice for the Vice-Presidency of Andrew Johnson, a Democrat of Tennessee, whom the President had oppointed military governor of that state. Lincoln had replied to the Baltimore convention's request to know his preference for his running mate that the "convention must judge for itself." The general impression in the convention was that, since Johnson had remained loyal to the Union, he would be acceptable to the party.

Sandburg gives in his final chapters a more detailed account of John Wilkes Booth's plans to assassinate Lincoln at Ford's Theater than the lives of Lincoln have generally contained. Although the conspiracy is fully treated, it is described in a matter-of-fact style. Booth was shot near Bowling Green, Virginia. "In the finish," writes Mr. Sandburg, "he was to be buried in the Booth family lot in a Baltimore cemetery, accepted and identified by those who knew him longest and best—though myths and fantasies were to arise around his name, life, and body."

These four volumes constitute a major work. The industry they represent, their range of information, and their adaptability to leisurely reading by reason of their style and chapter arrangement make them an outstanding contribution.

L. E. ROBINSON

Ideas and Society

IDEAS ARE WEAPONS. By Max Lerner. The Viking Press. $3.50.

IN THIS substantial volume Max Lerner has gathered together some sixty-odd essays and reviews written, and most of them published, over the period of the last nine years. His interests have led him to range freely over many fields—"law, literature, politics, economics, history, education, sociology, social psychology," as he tells us in the Foreword—but always his point of contact with his subject matter is the same: the relation between society and ideas on the one hand and between ideas and society on the other.

What lends unity to the whole, as Mr. Lerner recognizes, is the author's method and point of view, both of which appear to have undergone surprisingly little change since the first of these essays was written in 1930. This point of view is, in its fundamental outlines, clearly Marxian. The terminology and conceptual scheme perhaps owe more to Veblen than to Marx, but aside from this there is little from Veblen which cannot already be found in Marx. This is amply attested by one of Mr. Lerner's essays on Veblen (What Is Usable in Veblen?), which, I think, does considerably less than full justice to Veblen's really original contributions. Yet it would be wrong to regard Mr. Lerner as a faithful follower of Marx or even as a close student of Marx. His is a kind of generalized Marxism, a way of looking at the world of social relationships and social institutions rather than a closely knit body of doctrine resting squarely on the economic theories of "Capital." What is to be said of this kind of Marxism and its use as an interpretative and critical canon in Mr. Lerner's hands?

In the first place, it serves Mr. Lerner admirably in his brilliant essays on various individual thinkers. It enables him to identify the general forces effectively at work in society and to place the individual in relation to them with unerring accuracy. With this as a background Mr. Lerner is in a position to make his own insight into the man's personality and his great talent for synthesizing count to the utmost. The result is a series of short incisive essays on thinkers great and small which clearly place Mr. Lerner in the very front rank of present-day writers. Those which particularly stand out in my memory are the essays on Marshall, Holmes (the first two), Veblen (the first), Beard (the first two), Lippmann, Black, Engels, and Laski. These essays alone are well worth the price of the whole volume.

But when it comes to those larger historical trends which transcend the influence of individuals, Mr. Lerner's Marxism is a much less potent weapon. Here what Marx called "the law of motion" of capitalist society occupies the center of the stage. It must be thoroughly studied both in its theoretical aspects and in its concrete manifestations, a kind of study which is not in evidence in Mr. Lerner's work. This weakness shows up clearly in the long essay on The Supreme Court and American Capitalism. The periodization of American history, for example, is loose and unconvincing in spite of the fact that it forms the basis for interpreting what Mr. Lerner takes to be the most significant phases of the court's life history. Another and in some ways more crucial weakness of Mr. Lerner's brand of Marxism emerges clearly in his

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review of Lenin's "State and Revolution." After an excellent analysis of the origins of the work and a convincing presentation of the class-domination theory of the state, he tears Lenin's insistence on the uniqueness of each country's experience out of its context, mixes in a generous portion of typically liberal wishful thinking, and manages to give the impression that one can find in Lenin support for Fabianism. The same problem—that of the transition from capitalism to socialism—arises at various other points in the book, yet nowhere can it be said that Mr. Lerner comes to grips with it in realistic terms.

In spite of these criticisms, however, I would rather see a thorough study of the transition period, which I believe to be the first problem of our time, by Max Lerner than by any other political scientist in America today. This is, perhaps, another way of saying that among his weaknesses there are none which cannot be removed by further study and development.

As a writer Mr. Lerner is preeminently a stylist. His effectiveness depends to an unusual extent upon the impact of the well-chosen phrase and the vividness of an inventive imagery. He displays no taste for economy of words and little talent for understatement. He never allows the bare bones of the argument to show through the outer verbal garments in which it is clothed. This is a difficult style, and it is one of Mr. Lerner's great merits that he usually handles it with sure control and a steady discipline. One would have to look far and long before finding a better piece of writing than Lippmann Agonistes or Beard's Economic Interpretation, to choose two examples almost at random. But in this respect Mr. Lerner is like a star pitcher; when his control falters the results are less happy. Thomas Mann: Hero of Our Time is the leading example among a fortunately small number of essays which must have been produced on off days.

It is quite impossible in a short review to do full justice to the rich menu which Mr. Lerner offers to us for many an intellectual feast. The great majority of the essays have not even been mentioned. The best parting advice which I can offer, therefore, is this: read "Ideas Are Weapons" for yourself; there is not a dull page in the whole book, and there is more than enough to suit the taste of every reader.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Feet of Clay

MY LIFE. By Havelock Ellis. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.75.

IT IS the sad fate of the psychiatrist to have revealed to him in the course of his professional investigations the weaknesses, the shames, the skeletons in the closet that are masked from the eyes of the world in the lives of those who pass among their fellow-citizens as strong, brave, virtuous, and happy. The psychiatrist becomes disillusioned more completely than most of his fellows about the constituents of human nature, and for this reason often seems to them unduly cynical or pessimistic.

The psychiatrist protects himself from the trauma of these daily reminders of man's depravity by some of the same devices used by other human beings. But he has an additional armor, that of scientific detachment and the training in objectivity without which he cannot be a competent therapist, or even a competent scientist. He has learned to refrain from moral and evaluative judgments, and he is no more offended or disappointed by the discoveries of his daily routine than is the surgeon who seems to be so immune to the unpleasant aspects of the operating room.

The general public has no such technical training and no such professional coat of mail. For this reason the details of psychiatric case histories, like the details of surgical operations or of nursing routine, are not generally considered suitable for popular consumption. To thrust them upon the sensibilities of the public is an aggressive blow. Tschaikovsky's homosexuality, Van Gogh's epilepsy, Poe's impotence were undoubtedly interesting to their physicians, but as private citizens who enjoy music and art we do not care to be informed about them or reminded of them.

This is why I feel some resentment—as a human being, not as a psychiatrist—that Havelock Ellis should have written and published this personal case history. My viewpoint as a psychiatrist I shall mention later. But as one who shared a widespread admiration for his life work, for his courage, for his often beautiful writing, and for his great service to science, I cannot help being deeply mortified at this naively boastful exhibition of what should have been reserved for those who could study it technically. It is interesting to learn that this was perhaps his original intention; he identifies one of the cases in his "Studies of Sex" as being a fragment of his own experience. It is even more interesting, and surely of great psychological significance, that the man who possessed beyond almost any other English author the artistic gift of combining directness with delicacy in such a way as to win acceptance for previously tabooed subject matter should have written a book which so exactly reverses this formula. It is as if the impulse to offend which had been so powerfully controlled during a long lifetime was released in a last final explosion. What Bismarck said of von Moltke is true of Havelock Ellis: he committed suicide after his death.

It is almost certain, however, that this was entirely unconscious so far as Ellis was concerned. In fact, one of the striking things about the book is the air of sustained piety and self-righteousness, the pervading mood of showing the world an ideal love-life and thereby bringing "a little help and consolation to those who are still alive, and sensitive and suffering." It is not the egotism but the supreme psychological blindness to the pathos and tragedy of the love-life which he extols so highly that impresses the thoughtful reader. He calls himself "a Knight of the Holy Ghost" and quotes his friends as considering him a cross between Christ and a faun; he spreads over many pages the details of a relationship which he calls love but which was obviously permeated with unrecognized hate. He talks constantly about friendship in a book which describes almost no friendships, and considers the feelings or interests or individuality of almost no friends. He looks with satisfaction upon a many-volumned study of sex which is almost completely devoid of sex; and his humorlessness, as one reviewer put it, was the mark of a man who devoted his life to studying human emotions without possessing any himself. The great apostle of

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sex reveals himself as essentially deficient in any mature sexual feelings. He is more right than he elsewhere gives any hint of realizing when he says (page 433), "I have sometimes felt that the taunt might be flung at me which was flung at Jesus: 'He saved others, himself he could not save.' "

To speak for a moment in the role of psychiatrist, I would mention first what has been so eloquently put by a non-psychiatric but very intuitive fellow-reviewer—that the relationship between the inhibited, impotent Havelock and the homosexual, aggressive Edith, which the author extols as the highest, most beautiful love, was actually a fusion of infantile interdependence and repressed hatred in the form of a platonic truce. "Each is forever repeating his desire to be the other's child . . . repeatedly calls the other 'baby.' Their love-making is the play of children. . . . Each was the other's ally against the terrifying necessity of growing up in a world of adults and . . . the obligations of adult heterosexuality. Love was a license to be neuter, a way of staying safely sterile" (DeVoto). Ellis is throughout completely blind to his passive aggressiveness against his wife and prides himself on his tolerance of her much less passive aggression against him. (She apparently once kicked him in the head and later wrote to him about it thus: "Poor sweet old love, I wish I had your dear head here now, and I'd bury it in my wee breast and kiss the poor brain where I have kicked . . . and I seemed to writhe as I heard the squelch of the white brain matter gurgling.")

His identification of himself with his mother is obvious to any reader, and there is some evidence that Ellis recognized this. What is less apparent, and certainly unperceived by Ellis, is the fact that this identification and the consequent psychosexual infantilism were determined by fear and hatred of women. Identification is always determined by both love and hate, but a perverse and self-destructive identification indicates the predominance of the hate element in the bond. The interesting fact is that for all the apparent self-revelation, the really important episodes of his childhood are omitted (repressed). He adjures us not to sit in judgment upon the young: "they cannot understand themselves, and their psychoanalytic (*sic*) elders wildly misunderstand them." Unfortunately, the psychoanalysis which he disdained understands him only too well. But one does not have to be a psychoanalyst to understand Havelock Ellis far better than he understood himself. If one takes into consideration this destructive element in his feminine identification and the enormous hatred which both determined it and was concealed by it, one can see why it was necessary for him to make this aggressive, exhibitionistic life-confession, and to fling it in the face of his long-courted and admiring public in a final self-destructive gesture.

But it is the old problem of *bonum ex nocentibus*. Out of his tragic failure, his eloquently denied misery, his futile effort to live what he thought he believed, came words and ideas that served to set others free from a bondage which Ellis never escaped. Perhaps it would have been better if we had never been told the agony—agony only half-perceived—out of which this wisdom was born, but its origin does not discredit its validity. The name of Havelock Ellis will remain on the pages of history as one of our great emancipators, one who held high a torch to light the steps of others. Time will efface the memory of the morbid origins of his gospel, just as repression mercifully concealed it from its creator.

KARL MENNINGER

The Midnight of Sense

FIRST WILL AND TESTAMENT. By Kenneth Patchen. New Directions. $2.50.

BEYOND any book of poems I have encountered, "First Will and Testament" gives a lively sense of what it is to be a young man in America in a time when, for more of the young than we like to think, living and dying have lost all meaning. Kenneth Patchen is sure of his vocation as a poet, somewhat less sure of his craft. But he is able and eloquent, witty and strong. And what he is trying to do in this book is through poetry to recover meaning.

His is a world in which war is immanent, or rather, is constant. For there is but one war, and it is waged to maintain those modern cities whose only makers he says were ambition and avarice. The more people increase in the cities, "the more wicked all of them." He repudiates civilization, and with it not only those who have made it what it is, but those who profess to know how to remake it.

> Those smug saints, whether of church or Stalin
> Can get off the back of my people and stay off.
> Somebody is supposed to be fighting for somebody
> And Lenin is terribly silent, terribly silent and dead.

He has faith in revolution, but it is remote and less real than his anger, and his anger is without purpose. He does not miss the irony that all these commotions in the outer world are supposed to be for the benefit of somebody. And that somebody might as well be himself. Ours is a country in which for a long time society has been conceived to be centered on the individual; but in attaining an extreme individualism we have lost sight of the real desires of the individual. As stated by Mr. Patchen they seem moderate enough; but if he has won through to the satisfaction of any of them, he owes pathetically small thanks to the nation.

He is of a generation that fears death largely because life has dealt so coldly with it. He speaks for them in Street Corner College, where are the young men who have nothing to do and nowhere to go.

> We manage to have the look that young men have;
> We feel nothing behind our faces, one way or another
>
> We shall probably not be quite dead when we die.
> We were never anything all the way; not even soldiers.

It cannot be said that Kenneth Patchen feels nothing. He feels disintegration intensely. But he has not been unaffected by the young men's indifference. And like them he fears death inordinately.

His poetic speech is contemporary and close to the streets; but he has held to nothing he has heard in the streets unless it has its own vigor to recommend it. The form his poems most often take is that of hallucination. They are made up as dreadful dreams are from the remembered happenings of commonplace days. But if the details are realistic and clear, they are arranged by some obscure necessity that is not logic. They add up to a private horror—"And all the rooms of them

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haunted by war." His affinities are not with Rimbaud, the first master of the literary hallucination, nor with the surrealists who derive from Rimbaud. He is closer to Cummings. For Patchen presents a deliberate derangement, not of the senses, but of the mind. "It is the midnight of sense . . . mind's desolate cave." JOHN PEALE BISHOP

The Battleground of Democracy

FREEDOM AND CULTURE. By John Dewey. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THE latest of Dewey's books is not the statement of political doctrine or the formulation of a political program. It poses a problem. But this problem is stated in such original and incisive terms that merely as a problem it challenges all existing political theories and programs. The problem concerns the nature of democracy and the social action adequate to its realization. As such it is by no means new. Here, however, the question is not raised in the negative view of the constraints and oppressions that need to be lifted for the achievement of freedom, but with regard to the positive cultural conditions of freedom. Essentially "the problem is to know what kind of culture is so free that it conceives and begets political freedom as its accompaniment and consequence."

In a sense this question is a focal social expression of Dewey's philosophy. It articulates the dominant traits of his theories of nature, science, value, and inquiry. In all these the movement of ideas converges upon the central conceptions of integrated, communally shared, experimental inquiry interacting with and within a matrix of changing culture. Whether this inquiry is concerned with the discovery and control of physical phenomena or with the evaluation and direction of conduct, its pattern is essentially the same. This identity of method and the consequent possibility of integrating beliefs about the world and beliefs about values and purposes form one of the cardinal principles of Dewey's philosophy. In this principle lies the clue to the solution of the problem here posed.

For in Dewey's formulation of the question, democracy is an affair of morals, not simply of politics and economics. Not this or that institution but a pervasive attitude and a community of certain values constitute the basis and security of democracy. The attitude and values in question are those generated by the habitual employment of scientific methods of observation and reflection and by the "faith in the ability of human nature to achieve freedom for individuals accompanied with respect and regard for other persons and with social stability built on cohesion instead of coercion."

This is not the Emersonian democracy, however much it may resemble it. Emerson, like Dewey, is opposed to the coercive function of government and conceives of democracy as an ethical ideal of individual as well as social life. But in Emerson this ideal remains suspended in a nebulous inner world of spirit, good-will, and individual character. In its romantic individualism and transcendentalism Emerson's democracy is essentially utopian. For it presupposes that inherent in man are the natural conditions sufficient for the realization of a free society, and that fulfilment of this

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potential freedom awaits only the lifting of oppressive constraints. The denial of this presupposition is central to Dewey's conception of freedom.

Freedom is not a mere absence of restraint. It is a positive function of culture. Human nature, whose potentialities are to be liberated by democracy, cannot be isolated from cultural conditions. For biological traits and native individual differences take shape only through interaction with a given culture. Freedom is itself a pattern of such interaction.

In this emphasis on culture Dewey does not ignore the important role of economic factors in determining the character of political measures. He holds, however, that "economic relations and habits cannot be set apart in isolation any more than political institutions can be." His theory that social events are "interactions of components of human nature on one side with cultural conditions on the other" contrasts radically with doctrines which isolate some one factor in this interaction and treat it as *the* cause of *all* social change.

Traditional Marxism is the most significant and influential contemporary theory of this type. Dewey's critique of the allegedly scientific foundation of this theory is a challenge that no intelligent Marxist can ignore. For it raises the fundamental question of the practical value of a theory which is as deeply enmeshed and obscured by the cobwebs of metaphysics and its pseudo-scientific derivatives as traditional Marxist theory is shown to be in the light of Dewey's criticism. On the other hand, Dewey makes no attempt to separate the specific operative program for social action and the dominant humanitarian ideals of the Marxist tradition from the vestiges of Hegelian philosophy by which their theoretical "justification" is usually attempted. His critique would have further gained in strength had he differentiated between the several significant variations in specific programs of action which distinguish antagonistic groups each claiming to be Marxist. Not all these groups, for example, would subscribe to that perversion of scientific intelligence which leads John Strachey to say—as quoted by Dewey—that Communist parties even outside Russia, in their "refusal to tolerate the existence of incompatible opinions . . . are simply asserting the claim that socialism is scientific."

The Marxist's absolutism and dogmatism are alleged to lead to his readiness to employ violent means for the reconstruction of social institutions. In contrast to such use of force Dewey presents the methods of free, scientific intelligence. But even a wholehearted acceptance of Dewey's philosophy does not allay the urgency of a question provoked by this contrast: Is violence always a consequence of ignorance, of the unscientific or anti-scientific attitude? Distrust and opposition to the use of violence in social action spring in Dewey from the antithesis he sets up between this method and the method of intelligence. This antithesis, however, if supposed to obtain under all conditions, seems lacking in a realistic analysis of the concrete social milieu in which the method of intelligence is expected to operate. For in some circumstances the use of that method, when it becomes too incisive and too threatening to ruling interests, will be suppressed. What answer, in terms of the democratic ideal, is adequate to this challenge which institutionalized and legalized force has cast and probably will again cast before free intelligence? If in such situations the right to use the method of intelligence is defended by force before it is too late—before, that is, the weight of oppression has destroyed all those who harbor and propagate the faith in free intelligence—is this defensive force antithetical to the method of intelligence or does it now become an instrument, an antecedent condition, for the operation of that method?

It is to be hoped that Dewey will soon answer this question, especially for the benefit of those who share with him the conviction that "the future of democracy is allied with the spread of the scientific attitude." Meanwhile we rejoice that, despite the rising clamor of war, such a rich and significant voice can still be heard in its timely warning: "The serious threat to our democracy is not the existence of foreign totalitarian states. It is the existence within our own personal attitudes and within our own institutions of conditions similar to those which have given a victory to external authority, discipline, uniformity, and dependence upon the leader in foreign countries. The battlefield is also accordingly here—within ourselves and our institutions." WILLIAM GRUEN

Tyrants in Modern Dress

DICTATORSHIP. By Alfred Cobban. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

JUGGERNAUT. By Albert Carr. The Viking Press. $3.

UNBIASED political scientists have been rare even in less turbulent ages than ours. Even Aristotle, who is not known as a party politician, distinguished between good and bad forms of government. It is, however, not easy to refute the criticism of Thomas Hobbes, who remarked of Aristotle's "bad forms": "They are not the names of other forms of government, but of the same forms misliked. For they that are discontented under monarchy call it tyranny; and they that are displeased with aristocracy call it oligarchy; so also they which find themselves grieved under a democracy call it anarchy." Adversaries of contemporary tyranny do not bear out this statement; rather they are inclined to accept the terminology of the dictatorships.

Though as unprejudiced as possible in his dislike of despotism, Alfred Cobban, in his admirable book—thus far the most comprehensive one in the vast literature of this subject—treats the made-to-order theory of totalitarianism "as an up-to-date phase of a historical process commencing with Napoleon I, the 'first modern dictator.'"

Admitting that in a house ablaze some allowance has to be made for anybody who wishes to discuss the theory of combustion, the parallel drawn between Napoleon, though his "wars [too] were a brigand's campaigns for loot," and our contemporary brigands is not quite convincing. His wars followed a revolution, and his armies did not merely loot but carried the ideas of 1789 all over Europe, whereas the revolutions of his successors followed a war in order to perpetuate it—or, if possible, to supplant it by blackmail—and spread the ideas of slavery.

In spite of Cobban's profound knowledge of history and political science, his definition of dictatorship, as he himself admits, is arbitrary. It reminds one of the exact definition of the Alpine race insisted on by a German anthropologist, who

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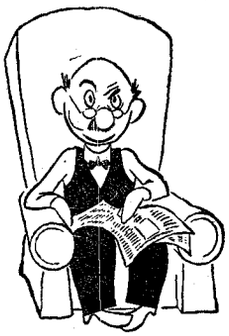

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after traveling in Switzerland bitterly complained to his friends: "These people of the Alpine stock are really annoying. Either their skull is not round enough, or they have blue eyes instead of dark ones, or their legs are too long; not one of them fits the correct definition." This explains why in Cobban's view "the Communist dictatorship is not exactly dictatorship in our sense of the word." (A few pages farther he admits that in Stalin, the "true heir to the czars," the Russian Revolution has "at last produced its dictator.") However, not the author but the inherent quality of dictatorship must be blamed for this contradiction. Dictatorship is a revolutionary, dynamic phenomenon, a concurrence of a political emergency and a blustering megalomaniac. Manifestations of both may, according to circumstances, vary so widely that the differences obscure the likenesses expressed in the definition.

It is not so much its concise account of dictators, whose power has in Nazism "reached its apogee," as its analysis of the causes of these recurrent phenomena that lends high value to Cobban's brilliant work. It convincingly eludicates how "the ideas of state, people, nation, and sovereignty finally met in totalitarianism" because sovereignty lost its last limitation—the principle of common good—when the idea of the people "was transferred to the nation," held together by non-utilitarian ties. In this way "Leviathan has undergone a metamorphosis and assumed the character of Frankenstein's monster; its craving for power has swollen far beyond its capacity for service."

Examining the economic basis of dictatorship, the author believes its association with socialism can be traced to the difficulty of reconciling in practice the principles of political liberty and economic equality. Increasingly violent social conflict increases the prevalence of dictatorship, and, vice versa, the dictatorship is inevitably bound to incorporate some socialist elements. The author has to admit that totalitarian dictatorship reaches its high point with what may be called the "religious aspect." And this is apparently why he wonders whether a returning faith will be built on the inherited culture of a great civilization . . . or "be the fetishism of a new Dark Age."

In spite of this doubt, Cobban does not indorse the pessimism of Halévy, the French historian who in "L'Ere des Tyrannies" expressed the view that with the *étatisme* which began in 1914 the end of liberty began. Dictatorships are the most short-lived governments, and their necessarily aggressive policy drives other states to take action to suppress an international menace. What will follow their collapse? This question of the author's is just now on the lips of millions of people, and his answer, that "so long as the conditions which evoked the dictatorship continue, revolution and dictatorship will follow one another in a vicious alternative," is not too encouraging. Fortunately he admits that novel factors, the mere existence of which we ignore, may change dramatically the "whole trend of events. History is a drama which has no fifth act."

It is not the historian's or the political scientist's business to get the world out of a mess into which the tragic development of events, some men's greed for power, and the stupidity of the masses have led it. But Alfred Cobban shows the way: association between states recognizing the principle of free commonwealths, multiplicity of authorities, liberty of the subject, restitution of the aims of welfare, and above all struggle against "the frightful principles of *raison d'état*," as Proudhon called this excess of "most evident and patent crimes." These are the chart and the compass for a voyage into less troubled waters, but where are the captains to use them?

More popular in its aims and style than Cobban's work is Albert Carr's "Juggernaut." It is really a case book of dictatorship, but the choice of cases was rather arbitrary. Richelieu, his refined face expressing the genius of Renaissance diplomacy, seems surprised and the Iron Chancellor infuriated at finding themselves ranged on the cover with idealized portraits of Hitler and Stalin. The reader is surprised, too, that the author, endeavoring to classify dictators in three groups, places Lenin among the "revolutionaries," Metaxas, who certainly did not represent King George's "pro-British" policy, among the "dynasts," and Hitler among the "crisis men." There is no reason to place Louis XIV, the most typical representative of the absolute monarchy, and an enlightened, benevolent despot like Frederick the Great among the dictators. Or if we do, there is no reason to omit Frederick's father, whose tyranny, as the author himself admits, very much surpassed that of his son. And if Gomez appears as the "crisis man" of Latin America, Diaz, Rosa, Lopez, and a good many others would have deserved an honorable mention. All this, however, does not deduct anything from the author's merit in having given us in lively writing life stories of seventeen dictators.

Carr raises the question which nowadays intrigues every civilized human being: whither are we bound—to universal fascism? Growth or decay? As the author says, "The French Revolution failed to produce a successful proletarian revolution." However, the French Revolution was far from desiring to produce such result. Similarly if "crisis dictatorship" spreads over Europe and the Americas, this unlikely event will certainly not happen "by the destruction of labor organizations." Labor did, unfortunately, very little to stop Hitler or Mussolini. If it happens, the author thinks that only the ruins of civilization will remain on which man can build a new and perhaps better world. This prospective night is, to use a Shakespearean term, certainly "black, fearful, comfortless, and horrible," but thus far Hitler has conquered neither the British Empire nor the United States. And let us hope he won't.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Chinese Tapestry

MOMENT IN PEKING. By Lin Yutang. The John Day Company. $3.

TO ANYONE but a Taoist, the title would probably suggest a short novel focusing on one episode or one point of time, but "to Tao . . . no point in time is long ago, nor by lapse of ages has it grown old," and "in old Peking, the moment and eternity are one." Thus, in "Moment in Peking" the indefatigable Lin Yutang has woven an intricate, many-colored tapestry of Chinese life stretching from the Boxer uprising in 1900 to the Japanese invasion as of 1938, tracing through more than eight hundred closely printed pages the daily doings, marriages, loves, sorrows, quarrels,

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and deaths of a half-dozen interrelated families, including their servants. The breaking up of old taboos and ceremonials, the infiltration of foreign manners and twentieth-century machinery, the persistent pressure of tradition and "face"—all these complicated forces are shown at work on Taoist, politician, scholar, war lord, and slave, on parent and child, rich lady and sing-song girl.

No other novel about China in English approaches the scope of this one, and probably none surpasses it in authenticity of detail; according to Pearl Buck, the author has used even the technique of the Chinese rather than of the Western novel, so that the book reads almost like a translation. While about three-fourths of it consists of family chronicles, with sporadic revolutions and campaigns only distant rumbles beyond the horizon, the story inevitably gathers momentum and indignation as it forges through the bloody years since the "incident" at the Marco Polo Bridge, and it is dedicated "to the brave soldiers of China who are laying down their lives that our children and grandchildren shall be free men and women." And although it touches only lightly on the horrors which daily newspapers have made all too familiar, it leaves unmistakably the impression summed up by the philosophical Mr. Yao: "The Japanese have not the character to stand the luck of ruling China. Give China to Japan and she will not be able to stand it."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

The Old West and the New

THE CHANGING WEST. By William Allen White. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

MR. WHITE'S book is based upon a series of lectures he delivered before the Extracurricular Committee of the Department of History of Harvard University. It bears the subtitle, "An Economic Theory About Our Golden Age." The author says he is "a country editor not a trained economist," and sees the possibility that economists may come along and shatter his hypothesis. The reviewer likewise is not a trained economist and, speaking as one non-economist to another, ventures the opinion that all the book needs to become a sound document on the changing West is to omit the economic theory on which it is predicated. It will then be seen for what it is—a mellow description of the settlement of the West, a keen analysis of Western politics and philosophy, and a baffled search for new economic bearings by a lover of democracy who shares the general perplexity of liberals over the problems that have followed the disappearance of the Western frontier.

The economic theory presented by the Kansas editor is that the rise of land values since the settlement of the West began 125 years ago created a reservoir of fluid capital which financed development of the country from Pittsburgh to the Pacific (north of the Ohio), and led to a "Golden Age" of prosperity and individual freedom. He concludes that the discovery of the usefulness of steam and the organization of capital through the unlimited corporation enabled the West to make use of the fluid capital created by the increment of land values to build transcontinental railroads and hew out an industrial and commercial empire in a region that was and has remained predominantly agricultural. The individual

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farmer improved his own farm out of this credit, and sold a portion of his high-priced land in order to buy and improve cheap land for his sons farther West. This westward-rolling wave of prosperity disappeared when there were no more cheap lands to rise in value and create additional fluid capital.

The trouble with this theory is that it puts the cart before the horse. Rising land prices were the result, not the cause, of Western development and prosperity. When a farmer sold land to send his sons West to cheaper land, the purchaser henceforth paid interest on unearned increment. The actual long-term sequence in the creation and use of this reservoir of fluid capital has been from price increment to credit to mortgages to foreclosure to farm tenantry. Unearned increment, during the period of rising land prices, served as an efficient old-age-pension system for those who retired, but transcontinental railroads were financed on the accumulations of Europe and the East. The usefulness of cheap land in the West was as an escape from the combination of rising land prices and inadequate markets in the settled regions. Mr. White might have had less confidence in his theory if he had reflected upon the revolt of Ohio farmers against the second Bank of the United States, at the beginning of the period he describes, and upon the 700,000, mostly ex-farmers from east of the Rockies, who are jobless and penniless in California.

However, when all this is said against William Allen White's interpretation of land prices, it should be stated that his economic theory occupies a minor place in the structure of the book, which is a readable, authoritative, and valuable presentation of the developing West as a phenomenon unique in human history. He describes the old West as the creation not of exceptionally brave and adventurous men but of pioneers who carried with them the spirit of freedom and a way of life centering in the schoolhouse and the church (but not in theology). They linked democracy with moral conduct, despite the lapses of individuals and the rapacity of corporate plunderers, and evolved a society which stands as the foremost contrast to Europe's authoritarian duplicities and tyrannies.

Mr. White then turns to "the West that is"—the West of the farm problem and the Dust Bowl, tenant farming and government checks; automobiles, good roads, radios, and high taxes; political insurgency and Republican moorings; the West of middle-class desires, a peasant's purse, and a determination to reject peasantry. No way out is offered, except a heartfelt plea that it be by the way of democracy. Mr. White has a hope that when engineers get more value out of fuel, the farmer will get more production out of his land, and—markets expanding with industrial expansion—prosperity will return to the West. The answer to that might be that the intelligence needed to give social direction to increased fuel energy would solve our problems today if applied to the present uses of steam, electricity, and oil, and to the present surplus of productivity and capital. It is the failure to attack our problems on this front that draws Mr. White out of the main current of American affairs. However, everything that comes from his pen strengthens his right to be called the foremost spokesman for the decencies of life which are so deeply bedded in the American middle class, and it is too much to demand that he also offer a solution to our economic problems.

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From Nickelodeon to Ninotchka

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN FILM. By Lewis Jacobs. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.50.

AMERICA AT THE MOVIES. By Margaret Thorp. Yale University Press. $2.75.

THE first moving pictures were shown on April 23, 1896, at Koster and Bial's Music Hall in New York City, where the Macy department store stands today. The New York *Times* described the event as follows:

> When the hall was darkened last night, a buzzing and roaring were heard in the turret and an unusually bright light fell upon the screen. Then came into view two precious blonde young persons of the variety stage, in pink and blue dresses, doing the umbrella dance with commendable celerity. Their motions were clearly defined. When they vanished, a view of the angry surf breaking on the sandy beach near a stone pier amazed the spectators. . . . A burlesque boxing match between a tall, thin comedian and a short, fat one, a comic allegory called "The Monroe Doctrine," an instant of motion in Hoyt's farce "The Milk White Flag," repeated over and over again, and a skirt dance by a tall blonde completed the views, which were all wonderfully real and singularly exhilarating.

Such was the first cinema, little bits of moving pictures, forty-three years ago. Today we see pictures which run two hours, and their content can be as wide and complex as life itself, and sometimes is. The actors speak, and all the sounds of nature and the machine are recorded. Every week eighty-five million Americans go to the movies. "The Rise of the American Film" tells how and by whom the exhilarating views of 1896 have been developed into the talking pictures of today. It is an exciting, illuminating story, which also contains, as a significant part of modern history, many lessons for those who are not particularly interested in movies as art or entertainment.

The author approaches his great theme, which is full of man's folly and man's genius, rather as a scholar than as a dramatizing movie scenarist. Though he never neglects the human interest he is primarily concerned with technical, economic, and artistic developments. Going back to buried sources he has unearthed and collected an immense amount of material and organized it in a clear pattern. His account, for example, of how the new technique of telling a story in pictures was discovered step by step is a masterpiece of constructive analysis. With the figures of George Melies, the French movie pioneer, and of Edwin S. Porter, the American Edison mechanic who produced the first real film—both now forgotten—he opens a long series of critical sketches of the personalities who contributed decisively in one way or the

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other to the amazing progress from the Nickelodeon to the Great Industry controlled by Morgan and Rockefeller.

It is not possible in a short review to do this book justice. One may object to certain estimates of personalities or certain evaluations of achievements, one may regret that there is no special survey of movie acting or movie criticism in what is otherwise so complete a work, but the important fact is that we have here a comprehensive, up-to-date history of the movies which sets a very high standard. Comments on more than a thousand film plots, an almost complete bibliography, an index of films, and forty-eight pages of characteristic stills make the book especially valuable. It is to be highly recommended to movie worker and moviegoer alike.

"America at the Movies" deals with the present status of the movie industry and its patrons. A very amusing book, it is also in many respects an eye-opener to the moviegoer who walks down Main Street intending to go to the Palace and not to the Avon but does not suspect that his mind was made up for him many months ago, that his choice was predetermined "by forces working so steadily and so subtly that the chooser is usually quite unaware how he got it fixed in his mind that 'The Life of Mr. Blank' is a film he really ought to see." Margaret Thorp tells you who made up your mind and how and why. She tells you who really runs your favorite movie house, describing the whole gigantic organization that lies behind your two hours' entertainment. She analyzes the influence of the movies on the American public and vice versa. Did you know that there are fan clubs which are a force in local politics? That after the advent of Shirley Temple juvenile beauty parlors sprang up where children got their hair curled into permanent waves and their nails manicured? That when Clark Gable went without an undershirt in "It Happened One Night," the sales of undershirts went down and the manufacturers protested in Hollywood? The author gives hundreds of such stories to show very effectively what a force the movies have become in American life.

FRANZ HOELLERING

DRAMA

A Mind Diseased

"THE WORLD WE MAKE," by Sidney Kingsley, presented by the author at the Guild Theater, is an interesting play somewhat out of the ordinary in both theme and method. It deals, to put the matter as briefly as possible, with the story of a young girl who escapes from a mental hospital, drifts into the slums, and finds sanity for herself through participation in the lives of those about her. Before the play opens, her young brother has been killed in an automobile which he himself was driving. The girl is convinced of something which may, in the deepest possible sense, be true—namely, that her mismated parents, who do not really love their children, gave her brother the automobile in the hope that it would kill him—and she is overwhelmed by the sense that hate rules the world. In the hospital the doctor tells her that the search for protection and

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security leads only to a retreat into the unreality of madness and that only toughness is sanity, but the sight of her quarreling parents who have come to visit her drives her back into herself; she steals a key and slips out into the world where she can learn by experience what the psychiatrist could not teach her. The most interesting feature of the play and the one chiefly responsible for its hold upon the imagination is the character of the girl. No small part of her effectiveness is probably due to a very fine, sincere, and restrained performance by Margo, who dominates the play as she should and who helps make the part so much the most convincingly real thing in the whole production that it would probably seem quite unimpressive were it not for the concern which she manages to create and sustain right through to the triumphant conclusion.

Despite the fact that I did find the play interesting throughout, I doubt that as a whole it deserves praise quite so high or so nearly unqualified as some have given it, and there are several reasons for this doubt. For one thing the fact that it is a dramatization, from a novel by Millen Brand, would be evident without the program note which declares it. One misses the intensity of the best dramatic effect because of the chronicle structure which Mr. Kingsley has not wholly succeeded in replacing by one more suitable to the theater, and the objection is not one based merely upon convention. When Aristotle drew the distinction between the unity necessary to drama and that mere sequence of events, some of which might be omitted or altered without altering the whole, satisfactory in an epic, he was not merely describing the practice of the Greeks but stating requirements so enduringly valid that they must have their justification either in the laws of the human mind itself or at least in some mental set which persists very stubbornly indeed. To object that a certain dramatic performance is "not really a play" is sometimes merely pedantic. In the present case it is, I think, to indicate that the material is not presented in the form which would make it as effective as it might possibly be.

Another objection to "The World We Make" which is at least equally valid is the objection that the slum dwellers among whom the heroine finds herself are almost too uniformly kindly, brave, and generous to achieve the effect of realism at which the play obviously aims. It is one thing for Mr. Saroyan to assure us that practically everyone in the world is a nice fellow in his own way. Mr. Saroyan is confessedly presenting us with a romantic humorist's view of the world as it really is, not with an imitation of that same world as it looks to the normal eye. But "The World We Make" is not fantasy. Its method is the method of naturalism. It is presented as something not far from the slice of life, and the result is to raise naturalistic doubts. The tenement in which the heroine finds herself by chance is an almost idyllic community. That a few of its inhabitants should be intellectuals is not, perhaps, improbable; but unless poverty and squalor are a good deal less corroding than is generally thought, it seems highly remarkable to say the least that tempers are so even and everybody so uniformly gentle, so exquisitely thoughtful, so unremittingly dominated by good-will. In the early scene in the laundry where the heroine gets a job, there are one or two naturalistic dissonances

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but once she has taken refuge in the room of her young protector sweetness and light reign almost without interruption.

This prettification of the human background is made all the more conspicuous by the fact that the sets are conceived in a spirit of the most literally factual realism. Mr. Kingsley has shown in previous productions his fondness for what used to be called the Belasco touch, and he persists here by constructing both a doctor's office which lacks nothing except the smell of phenol and a laundry to which one would intrust a shirt without misgiving. The result is a chatter of distracting detail. Things like the elaborate play of human shadows upon the ground-glass walls of the doctor's office are bad theater for the simple reason that instead of creating an illusion they draw attention to themselves.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

IN THE Beethoven quartet cycle that WEAF is broadcasting Sunday evenings the Primrose Quartet is alternating with another group of players from the N. B. C. Symphony, the American Art Quartet, which I heard on November 19 in the performance of Opus 59, No. 1. They revealed themselves as fine players and musicians with, in addition, the common musical feeling and understanding, the precision in execution, the balance and blending of tone of a fine ensemble group. But the broadcast was interesting in other ways. If N. B. C. put on a series of all the Beethoven quartets out of the feeling of obligation to such music that it claims, it would give each quartet the time it required, breaking down, when necessary, the barriers of the patchwork of half-hour and quarter-hour periods that is a result of commercialization. How little, instead, N. B. C. is concerned with great music, and how much, rather, with the reputation of being concerned with great music, is evident from what it actually does: it assigns a half-hour for the purpose, and when it comes to a work like Opus 59, No. 1 that requires forty-five minutes it simply slices out one movement of the four.

November 19 was the date also of the New York debut recital at which Dorothy Maynor, the colored soprano whom Koussevitzky brought to the attention of the nation last summer, revealed innate gifts of voice and musicianship that are indeed extraordinary and that are already at an impressive stage of development. Moderate concert activity will permit the further study and development Miss Maynor needs to become the great artist she has it in her to become. But there is the danger that after a sensational discovery and a sensationalized debut the next step will be, as usual, ruthless managerial exploitation of the publicity sensation—seven recitals a week fifty-two weeks a year while the sensation lasts and until the voice is wrecked.

December 6 is the date of a debut recital which I don't consider less important than Miss Maynor's even though the hall will not be packed by a sensational report of the artist's discovery by Koussevitzky. Instead, there will be present some of those who discovered him for themselves—who, a few

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years ago, were bored by Schlusnus's singing but excited by the piano accompaniments of Franz Rupp, for once literally an assisting artist, and one of superb technical and musical equipment and remarkable temperament and fire. These people have followed the growth of Rupp's powers in the recordings of Beethoven sonatas which he made with Kreisler for H. M. V. and in his playing with Feuermann during the past year; meanwhile, before coming to this country, he had, in his last years in Germany, established himself as a solo artist; and as a solo artist he makes his first New York appearance in a program of high quality on December 6.

A new Victor recording made by Bruno Walter with the London Symphony (M-602, $9) provided the occasion to hear Schubert's C major Symphony again after some time, and to be overwhelmed by the fresh impact of its miracles of sheer musical loveliness, its power and greatness. The new set also provided an occasion to hear the older one, and to find the work more effective in Boult's more straightforward performance with the B. B. C. Symphony. This performance was recorded with ample clarity and fidelity; and if it lacks the additional present-day degree of spaciousness and richness it lacks also an additional present-day sharpness that is to be heard in Walter's version.

Other Victor releases that have reached me so far include a set (M-603, $5.50) with the better movements of Mozart's Divertimento K. 247 for strings and horns, which sounded like nothing in the recent New Friends of Music performance, but which are quite engaging in the sharply seasoned and brilliantly recorded performance of Ormandy with a group from the Philadelphia Orchestra; a superb new set of Brahms's Piano Quintet Opus 34 made by Serkin and the Busch Quartet (M-607, $10); superlative playing by Artur Rubinstein of the Fauré Nocturne Opus 33, No. 3 and Poulenc's "Mouvements perpétuels," which I care little about (15660, $2); Hindemith's "Trauermusik," which I find characteristically arid, and which is well played by the composer with an orchestra under Reibold (15643, $2); good recording of beautiful singing and phrasing by Flagstad in Franz's "Im Herbst" and Schubert's "Im Abendrot," which, nevertheless, sound rather dull (15645, $2); and passages from Verdi's "Simone Boccanegra," not impressive as sung by Tibbett, Bampton, and Martinelli with the Metropolitan orchestra and chorus under Pelletier (15642, $2).

B. H. HAGGIN

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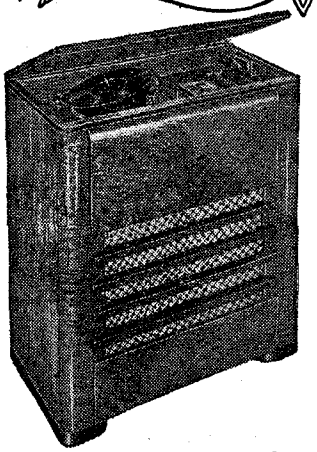

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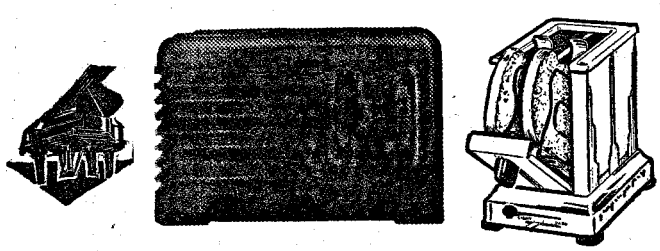

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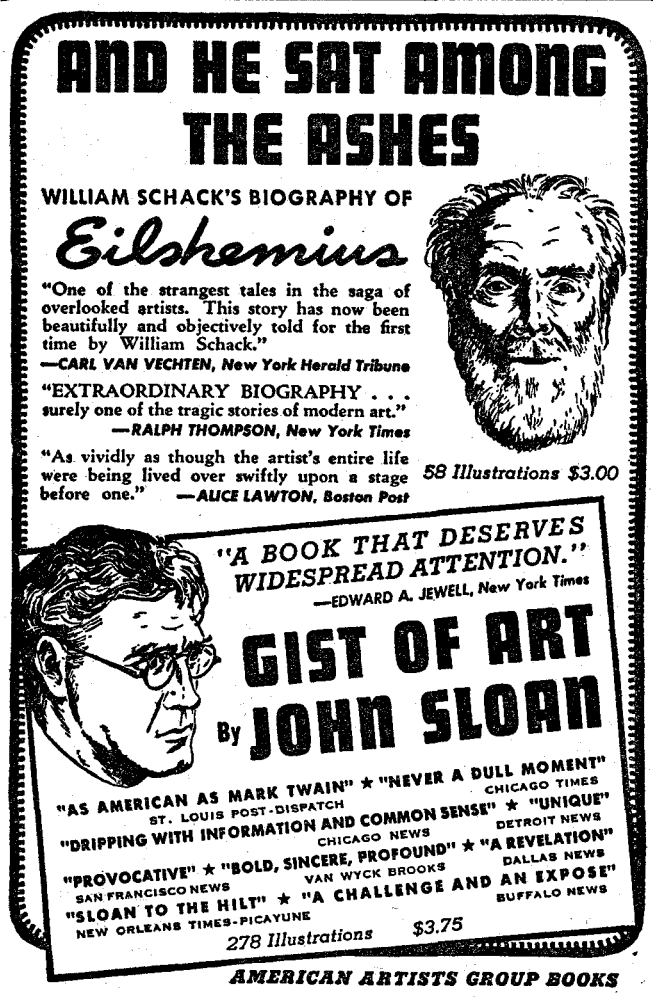
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Letters to the Editors

Robert Marshall

Dear Sirs: Somewhere in one of his letters the Plymouth fish peddler says it is impossible for any human being to be objective. This particular letter was written by Bartolomeo Vanzetti after he had pondered the efforts and life of himself and other men for some six years from the vantage point of the barren cells of various Massachusetts prisons. Unfortunately Vanzetti never had experienced Robert Marshall.

If he had, my guess is he would not have written so flat a statement. Because Bob was that unique individual in whom an intense subjectivity formed the medium from which grew a systematic and brilliant objectivity whose clarity caused discomfort to some of the lesser beings coming within its orbit. Not that he ever wanted it to. His urge to increase the margin of happiness in each individual he met and in the commonalty of individuals composing the society in which he lived was as nearly an absolute motivation as I have ever known.

It is therefore superfluous to say that as a federal government official or in any of the other roles he filled there was not one drop of malice in Bob. And malice, so abhorred by him, always originates in some form of striving for personal aggrandizement, which is something he never did. This must not be taken to imply that Bob was a saccharine person anxious to turn his other cheek or to divest himself of his goods for the other fellow in an exhibitionist, self-indulgent manner. Far from it. He was an innately modest being, though fully aware of his own ego gratifications. Moreover, he was too full of a robust and even tempestuous humor ever to be pious. He recognized too thoroughly and accepted with too joyously unflinching a courage the responsibility of making the most of his fine intellect in a physical equipment about whose imperfections, discovered by him as a youngster, he never once whined. Rather he turned those imperfections into a mechanism for prodigious hikes, mountain-climbings, and explorations in Alaska and most of our forty-eight states which shame the accomplishments of physiques developed for muscular performance.

No one can read his "Arctic Village" or even his more technical forestry works such as "The People's Forests" without being stirred by his passionate love of natural beauty. Yet even more impressive than that love is his insistence that all people of the community—especially those without money—be given the chance of discovering for themselves the joy he experienced in our national forest wilderness. The Wilderness Society which he founded and of which he was the head will, of course, go on.

It is a tribute to the understanding of Chief United States Forester Ferdinand Silcox and his assistant, Christopher Granger, that they persuaded Bob to leave his post as chief forester of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to become chief of the division of recreation and lands in the United States Forest Service specially created for him. So likewise does it speak well for Secretary Wallace's appreciation that he has announced he will name a wilderness area or forest recreation site after Bob.

No true friend or admirer of this man can harbor even the slightest twinge of fear, despite the brutality trampling large sections of the world, if he thinks of Bob. Not for an instant did Bob ever admit to himself, much less to others, that any situation was hopeless, was not conquerable by reason and decency backed by unyielding determination. The several additional jobs Bob had charted for himself just before he died must be carried through. The many causes which he supported and in which he was always an active participant must gain renewed strength from his example.

In an extended conversation a few hours before death suddenly interrupted his work Bob went over with me many of his plans and hopes for the coming months. Uppermost in his mind as a symbol was the need for the defeat of Hitler and everything Hitler typifies, with no tactical temporizing along the line. Believing profoundly in unions and other forms of organization as instruments essential in the working out of a society based on production for the common good rather than for the profit of the few, Bob at the same time was strongly opposed to those organizational techniques that make the individual a mere automatic instrument of the organization. He hated organizations to "use" individuals, whether high or low. He wanted every individual to be given an opportunity through truly democratic processes in each organization to realize his socially creative possibilities in decision and action for the common good.

Thus we find the seeming paradox of Bob, the lover of wilderness solitude and of people, fighting at one and the same time with high joy, courage, and candor for more and more effective organization and for the dignity of the individual. Thus also, we who knew him call him an intensely subjective and at the same time superbly objective human being.

GARDNER JACKSON

Chevy Chase, Md., November 23

Anniversary of a Strike

Dear Sirs: On December 5 the Chicago Newspaper Guild will observe with appropriate ceremonies the first anniversary of its strike against Hearst's *Herald and Examiner* and *Evening American.*

For the past two months Edward G. Woods, attorney for Hearst, has attempted to enjoin the strike. The Chicago Newspaper Guild was fined $500 for contempt of court. Strikers by the score have been cited to show cause why they should not be held in contempt of court. Guild sympathizers who had the effrontery to handbill stores which advertised in the struck paper have been brought into court.

At the present day the Hearst legal machine has almost run out of gas. Because strikers had been subjected to violence by Hearst thugs, the Guild sought and obtained an injunction—unique in labor annals—which restrains the Hearst management and its employees from violence against strikers. Four days after the injunction was issued, a scab reporter attacked a Guild picket. As a result the Hearst management has been cited to show cause why it should not be held in contempt.

Meanwhile, advertising has fallen off by 6,000,000 agate lines. Circulation of the *Herald-American* has dropped 64,000. The Guild estimates that the strike has cost Hearst more than five million dollars. Reports from the Hearst building set the *Herald-American's* weekly loss at $17,000.

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Hearst and his financial "angel," the Chase National Bank, still believe that they can whip the Guild in Chicago. And no doubt they think that if they can break the Guild here they can do it in any Hearst city. From this angle, they find the strike worth the cost. Hearst could, of course, have amicable relations with his employees by spending a great deal less money.

D. H. KENISTON

Chicago, November 22

Repression in Canada

Dear Sirs: The Frank Watson Defense Committee noted with gratification S. J. Kennedy's article in your issue of October 25 revealing governmental suppression of civil liberties in Canada since the war. Your correspondent referred to the jailing of "a street-corner pacifist." The man referred to is Frank Watson, a young English-Canadian who was employed in a Toronto restaurant. He spoke against Canadian participation in the war at an open-air meeting in Toronto on September 15 and was arrested at the close of the meeting. He was convicted under the Defense of Canada Regulations at a summary hearing before a local magistrate and sentenced to six months in jail and a fine of $300, or another six months, for making remarks "likely to prejudice the recruiting of His Majesty's Forces."

A study of his case reveals, in the opinion of the committee, several extenuating circumstances. First, the alleged offense was committed before the Defense of Canada Regulations were made public. Second, the entire testimony against him was given by an ex-recruiting officer and a soldier, whose remarks in the courtroom were scarcely of an unprejudiced character. Third, the organization from whose platform Mr. Watson spoke, the Socialist Workers' League, is a legal organization which had habitually conducted meetings at the same corner without any interference. The committee is therefore supporting Mr. Watson's appeal to a higher court, and earnestly asks the cooperation of all individuals and organizations in Canada in the securing of funds and of publicity for this appeal.

The committee considers that the principles involved go far beyond the immediate case of Frank Watson. A study of the evidence shows that Watson was convicted for statements no different in essential character or phrasing from remarks which have been made by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Manion, several C. C. F. members, and even by persons without parliamentary privilege as in letters to the London *Times*. The committee feels that the extremely repressive nature of Sections 39 and 39a of the Defense of Canada Regulations is a standing threat against the liberties of anyone in Canada who is not in absolute agreement with the present war or even with the present or past policies of the Chamberlain or Daladier or Mackenzie King governments.

Sympathizers in the work of the committee are asked to communicate with me at 246 College Street, Toronto.

M. G. DAWSON, Secretary
Frank Watson Defense Fund

Toronto, Canada, November 24

Cabaret Irony

Dear Sirs: "Nacht muss es sein" is a "curious title" for a Berlin cabaret show, says Toni Christen (*The Nation,* November 11). Perhaps, but there is nothing curious or mysterious about the phrase. "Nacht muss es sein, wo Friedlands Sterne strahlen"—those are the proud words that Schiller put into the mouth of Wallenstein, as the fates and his own weakness conspired against him ("Night must it be, for Friedland's stars to shine"). The author of the skit chose to misapply a familiar quotation to caption his "pleasant picture of night life in peace-time Berlin." It is a common device; yet perhaps some irony lurked in the back of his head. Schiller has been used before in Nazi Germany to point a protest. Remember the performances of "Don Carlos."

S. G. MORLEY

Berkeley, Cal., November 21

In Defense of Wilson

Dear Sirs: Permit me to say that Oswald Garrison Villard's statement, in your issue of October 14, putting at Woodrow Wilson's door the horrible fate of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Tyrol seems exremely far-fetched. President Wilson tried with all his intelligence, heart, and soul to give peace—a real, solid, organized peace—to our poor, silly world. And if he did not succeed, we know that it was in no way his fault.

It may be an "amazing assumption" in the eyes of Mr. Villard to charge that the United States—not alone, of course, but more than any other single country—wrecked the League, brought Mussolini and Hitler to the top, and killed all possibilities of a workable international order. Still, that is my opinion, and I am not alone in it.

LUCIEN LEHMAN

Paris, November 15

Aid for Spain's Children

Dear Sirs: We should like to ask your readers for books for our rental library. We expect that the income derived from this project will enable us to establish and maintain more "white corners" for Spanish children living in camps in France—where undernourished children receive vitamin concentrates, powdered milk, cod-liver oil, chocolate, medicines.

Books may be donated or lent. They should be sent to the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, Room 812, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

MARY GORDON, Executive Secretary

Chicago, November 20

CONTRIBUTORS

TONI CHRISTEN is the pseudonym of a German writer now in this country.

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